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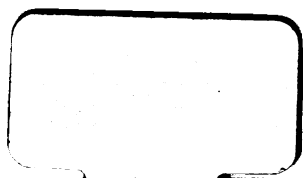
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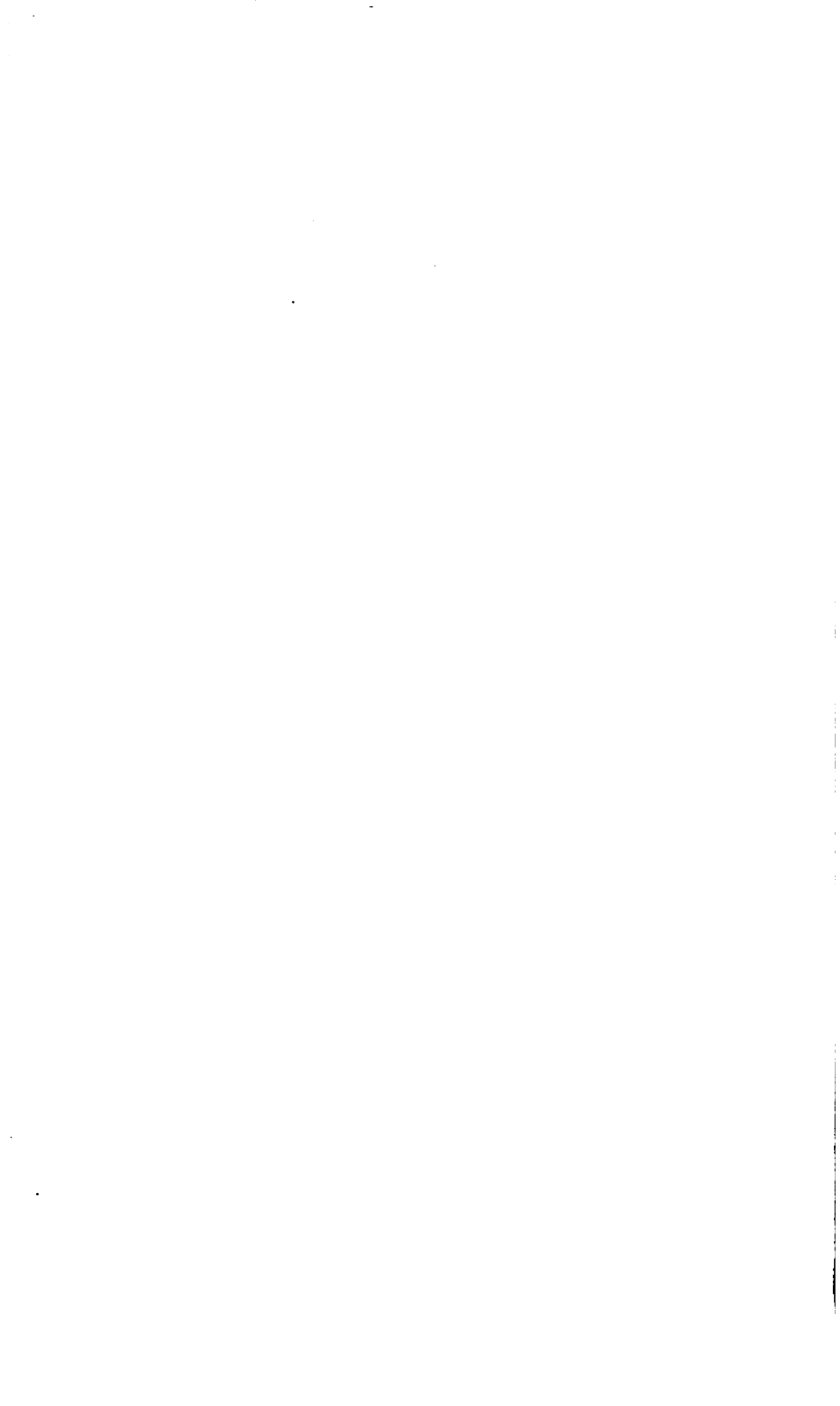
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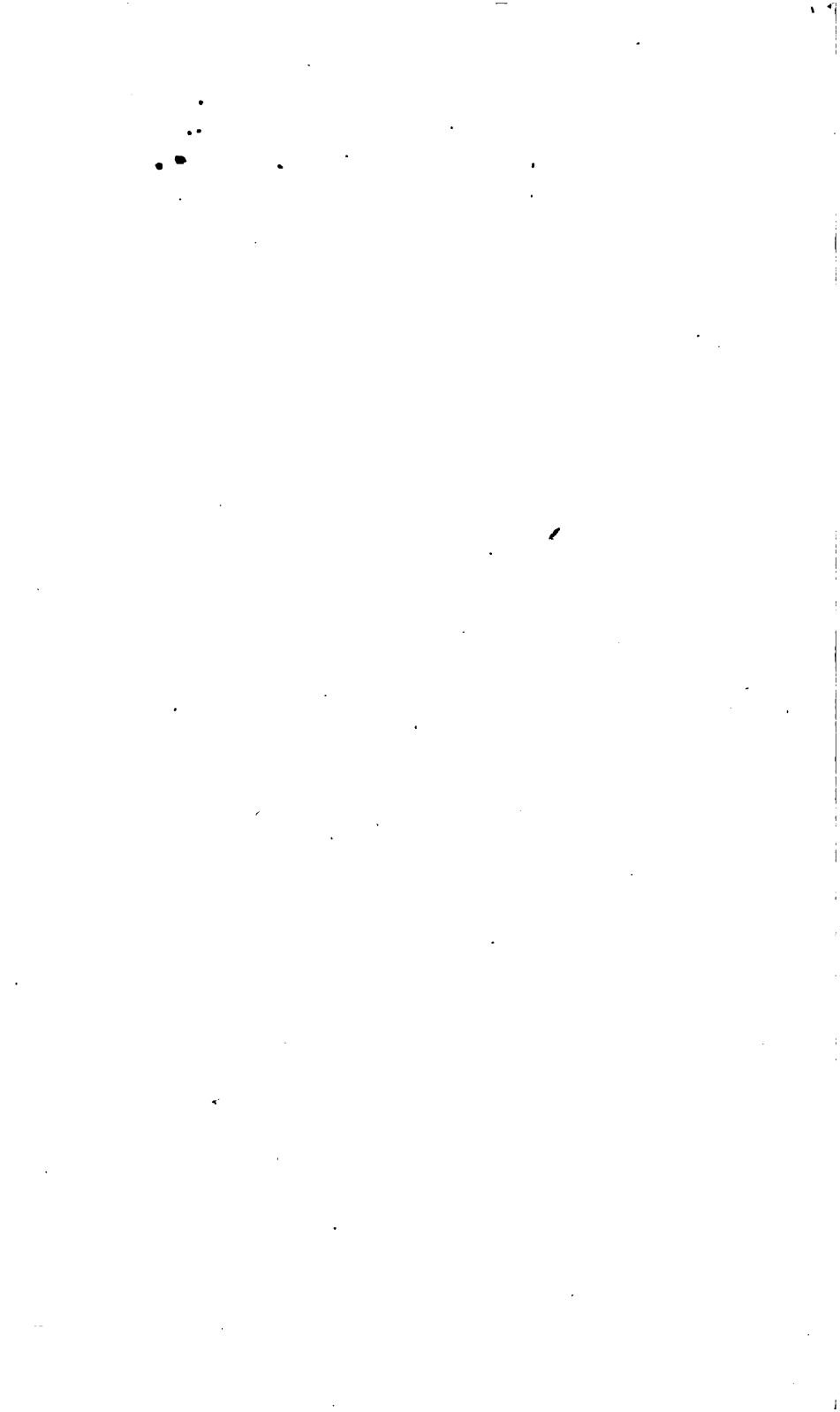
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ANNALS
OF THE
COINAGE OF BRITAIN
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD OF AUTHENTICK HISTORY
TO THE END OF THE
FIFTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT
MAJESTY KING GEORGE III.

Printed by Nichols, Son, and Bentley,
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BY THE
REV. ROGERS RUDING, B.D.
VICAR OF MALDON IN SURREY,
F. S. A. AND H. M. A. S. OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

It is time to give off Coining if the Value of Standard
Silver be lessened by it. LOCKE.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED, ENLARGED, AND
CONTINUED TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1818.
IN FIVE VOLUMES, AND A SEPARATE VOLUME OF PLATES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

TO trace the progress of any art, from its first rude efforts to an high degree of cultivation, is an employment which not only gratifies a laudable curiosity, but also excites the mind to emulation and energy. It is pleasing to view, in this manner, the ingenuity of mankind struggling against, and finally overcoming, the obstacles which opposed its progress towards perfection; and the proof, arising from thence, that taste and skill are to be acquired by unremitting exertions, will not fail to give confidence to the modest artist.

40
The particular art which is the subject of this work, now submitted to the public eye, has claims to superlative attention; for none can be either so high or so low as not to be in some degree affected by errors in the practice of it, and its corruption has ever been pointed out as a sure indication of consumption in a state ^a.

Although it has been constantly practised, by every civilized Nation of the earth, for more than two thousand years, yet, incredible as the

^a Cottoni Posthuma, p. 286.

assertion may at first sight appear, its theory is even now undetermined and irregular, and varies not only in States which are independent of each other, but also in different parts of the same individual Kingdom.

It is of the highest political importance that these variations should be well understood; for, as it is forcibly observed by Mr. Greaves, "if those advantages which one country may make upon another, in the mystery of exchanges, and valuation of Coins, be not thoroughly discovered and prevented, by such as sit at the helm of the State, it may fare with them, after much commerce, as with some bodies after much food, that, instead of growing full and fat, they may pine away, and fall into an irrecoverable consumption." ^b

The early history of Coinage in these Dominions is involved in much obscurity, and the little which can now be related of it, with certainty, must be gathered chiefly from the specimens which have descended to these times; for the Records respecting it, from Cæsar's discovery of Britain, until the reign of King Henry III., are few and unsatisfactory. The specimens, however, are more numerous, and in general better preserved, than those of almost any other art; because the materials of which

^b Greaves's Works, vol. I. page 337, in his Discourse of the Roman Foot and Denarius.

they are composed are extremely durable, and it has ever been considered as the common interest of mankind to concur in their preservation.

Under circumstances thus favourable, it cannot be matter of surprize, that Money should exist which has been struck by Monarchs of whom scarcely any other memorials remain; or that many historical facts, unnoticed either in manuscripts or inscriptions, should stand recorded upon Coins alone.

The History of Money in these Dominions will show its progress, from the most barbarous state, to a very high degree of excellence: from the shapeless Brass, and the Iron Rings, or Plates, of the antient Britons, to the beautiful Coins of that very eminent artist Simon. From his time, however, to the present, with the exception of that period which is filled by the works of Croker^c, the art has declined with a rapidity for which it is not easy to account. Whether it be owing to the peculiar Constitution of the Mint, which entirely precludes competition, and distinguishes not, in point of reward, between the productions of a masterly hand, and those which betray the most consummate ignorance of the art, is not for me to determine. The fact is undoubted, that, what-

^c That is, the reign of Queen Anne, and part of that of George I.

ever may be the cause, our Coinage has degenerated into a state of barbarism, highly disgraceful to a Nation which professes to cultivate the fine arts.

It is the design of this work to trace the progress of Coinage, in Britain, and its dependencies, from the earliest period, for which authentic documents can be procured, down to the conclusion of the fiftieth year of his present Majesty. To give an historical detail of the changes which have obtained, not only in the denominations, forms, weight, and fineness of the Money, but also in the Constitution of the Mints, with respect both to their Officers, and their mode of working. To state the best account, which can be gathered from very scanty materials, of the origin and continuance of the various places of Coinage and Exchange, which once existed in these Dominions, and to point out the numerous Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations, which have been framed for the preservation of the Coins, and the effects which have resulted from them.

In the historical detail I have studiously avoided swelling the volumes by the statement of any circumstances which do not bear upon the subject, and have confined myself, as strictly as possible, to the nummery transactions in each reign.

Such was the plan which I proposed, and which is thus briefly stated to my readers, that they may know what they are to expect from the work, and that I may not incur censure, if they should not find in it that which it was not my intention to give.

Had these materials been collected for no other purpose than the amusement of antiquarian curiosity, I should have held myself to be blameable for the misapplication of much precious time. But this work is given to the world with a higher and more important view. Its object is to show, from the experience of ages, the inadequacy of punishment, however severe, to prevent the commission of the crime of counterfeiting the Money, whilst the temptation to it remains so powerful, and the execution of it so easy. The long succession of penal Statutes, and the innumerable lives which have been forfeited to them, seem to prove that the system is radically defective, and that the crime can be prevented only by counteracting and weakening the force of the temptation. If it be the duty of every Legislature to attend to the prevention rather than the punishment of offences^d, the Acts referred to are a reproach to our Statute Book.

^d I have stated the proposition above, hypothetically, because, though not a doubt respecting it has place in my own mind, yet

Should the reasoning contained in these Volumes be deemed conclusive, by those who have the power to make trial of the method proposed as a public means of giving some check to a widely-extended temptation to dishonesty; should they think it expedient to adopt it; and, should it prove to be efficacious; I shall then think that I have not lived nor laboured in vain, since I shall have removed some portion of temptation to evil, and thereby shall have preserved many of my fellow-creatures from the commission of crime.

To those who may think that this work has been extended to too great a length, I offer as my apology the opinion of a celebrated Author^e (which has been sanctioned and adopted by Mr. Hume^f) — “Every book should be as compleat as possible within itself, and should never refer, for any thing material, to other books.”

no Nation upon earth has, I believe, ever acted upon it as a general principle.

^e Padre de Paolo, Hist. Conc. Trid.

^f History of England, vol. II, page 102. As the Proclamations relating to this subject are many of them very rare, and the Statutes in the hands of but few numismatick Antiquaries, I have given large extracts from each of them, commonly following their very words.

Of the Plates, which illustrate these Volumes, it needs to be said only, that the first 33 were engraven under the inspection of Taylor Combe, Esq. Medallist in the British Museum; whose knowledge of the subject, and accuracy of eye, are so universally acknowledged; — that for the use of the following 67 Plates I am indebted to the liberality of the Society of Antiquaries; — that Dr. Charles Combe obligingly favoured me with the first Plate of the second Part of the Supplement; — that the eight succeeding ones have been added by me, from the best materials that I had the power to procure; — and that to the wish of my highly-respected and most deeply-lamented friend Barrè Charles Roberts, Esq. kindly seconded in the most liberal manner by his father, whom I am proud likewise to call my friend, I owe the four Plates of Anglo-Gallic Coins.

The inconveniences necessarily arising from the want of arrangement in Plates engraven at such various periods, I have obviated, as much as possible, by a Table which precedes the Explanation of them.

I shall now give some account of the different historical works upon this subject which have hitherto been published.

The study of our National Coins was but in its infancy at the end of the 17th century, and therefore Archbishop Sharpe's Observations were, probably, the first systematick treatise ever composed on the Coinage of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Some part of them was written before the year 1698-9; for the Remarks on the Silver Coins of England had been communicated to Mr. Thoresby previously to that period. By his suggestions they were extended and improved, and were again transmitted to him, with the addition of an Account of English Gold, and of the Scottish Coins, accompanied by a letter dated upon the 27th of January 1698-9^s. The Observations upon the Coinage of Ireland appear not to have been then completed; but they were a short time afterwards presented to Thoresby, as they are enumerated in the Catalogue of his Museum, which was printed in 1713^h.

No part of this work was, however, printed until the year 1773, when Mr. Ives published that portion only which relates to English

^s Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No XXXV. p. 1.

^h No 95, p. 528. This Catalogue was published at the end of Ducatus Leodiensis, folio, 1715.

Silver Coins, in the first number of his Select Papers. But in 1785 the whole, containing Observations on the Gold and Silver Coins of England, and on Scotch and Irish Money, from the Conquest to the Revolution, was given to the publick by Mr. Nicholsⁱ, from the MS. which Mr. Gough purchased at the sale of Thoresby's Museum in 1764. Much of historical detail is not to be expected in this work, as the Archbishop's design led him chiefly to sketch an imperfect outline of the description of the Coins, together with rules for the appropriation of them to their respective Monarchs. His Observations will, notwithstanding, be found to possess considerable merit, especially if we take into the account the very little assistance he could derive from any other source than the sagacity of his own mind.

That this work formed the foundation of Bishop Nicolson's Chapters on Money, which are to be found at the end of his Historical Libraries, is evident, not only from the Archbishop's Letter, before mentioned^k, in which he states that he had communicated his first sketch to Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Nicolson, but also from a note in the Bishop's

ⁱ It forms No XXXV. of the Bibl. Topog. Britannica.

^k Addressed to Thoresby, and dated Jan. 27, 1698-9.

work¹, where he refers to that communication, and calls the Archbishop his best guide. These chapters contain some account of the Coins of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the Conquest to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and were, I presume, the most early publications upon that subject; for the different parts appeared between 1696 and 1724^m.

In 1707 Bishop Fleetwood published, in 8vo, *Chronicon Preciosum*, or an Account of English Money, the Price of Coin, and other Commodities, for the last 600 years. This edition had no plates; but twelve (six of Gold and six of Silver Coins) were added on the republication of the work in 1745, together with an Appendix of an Historical Account of Coins. As it was the Bishop's primary intention to trace the depreciation of Money, scarcely any thing relating to the history of Coinage is to be found in the body of this treatise, and but little can be expected from an Appendix of 30 pages, which is the whole that is appropriated to that subject.

¹ English Historical Library, page 255 note, 3d edition, folio 1736.

^m The English Historical Library, Part I. 1696.

II. 1697.

Part III. 1699.

The Scottish Ditto 1702.

The Irish Ditto 1724.

Nicolson's and Burn's History of Westmorland and Cumberland, vol. II. p. 294.

Stephen Martin Leake, Clarenceux King at Arms, published in 1726, *Nummi Britannici Historia*, in 8vo, with eight plates. To the second edition in 1745, which is considerably enlarged and improved, and the title altered to "An Historical Account of English Money," he added six more, but omitted the third plate of the first edition (some of the Coins on which are, however, transferred to other plates), and thus made the whole number thirteen. A third edition was published by the Booksellers, in 1793, with an Appendix, which gives a slight account of the Coinage of George III., and with an additional plate containing some of his Coins.

This author has the merit of being the first who attempted to give a regular historical account of the Coinage of the various Monarchs, from the Conquest to the reign of George II. inclusive, comprized in a short view of each reign. As far as it goes it has great merit, but the plan is too much contracted, extending in the enlarged edition to no more than 436 8vo pages, and is founded chiefly upon the authority of printed books, instead of original Records.

In 1732, Tindal, the Translator of Rapin's *History of England*, added to his second edition of that work, in folio, some account, with en-

gravings on wood, of the Coins of the different Monarchs from William I. to James II., both inclusive, in notes at the end of each reign. These notices are very short and imperfect.

The Society of Antiquaries published, in 1733, Browne Willis's Folio Table of the Gold Coins of England, from Edward III. to George II. both inclusive.

This seems to have suggested the idea of a Table of English Gold Coins, from the 18th of Edward III. to the 1st of George II., which was drawn up by Martin Folkes, Esq. and printed for the Society of Antiquaries, in 4to, 1736. These Tables are little more than Lists, except that to the latter are added the weights of the Coins, together with a few remarks.

This Mr. Folkes republished in 1745, subjoining it to his Table of English Silver Coins, and a slight Account of Scottish Money from the Union of the two Crowns.

It was his intention to have illustrated these Tables by a Series of Engravings of the Coins, but he was prevented by death from perfecting his design. His Plates, in number 44, which he left unfinished, were purchased of his Executors by the Society of Antiquaries, and, with the addition of 19 Plates in continuation of the Series, and of 6 Supplemental ones, were published by them in 1763, with a new edition of

the Tables; but without any improvement of the letter-press, and indeed without any addition to it, except an Explanation of the Plates, and a few notes to that explanation.

Mr. Folkes's Table of Silver Coins affords much valuable information subsequent to the reign of Richard III.; but the preceding period from the Conquest is extremely defective, occupying no more than 13 quarto pages.

The Antiquaries' edition of this work adds but little to it, except in the article of Plates, and the description which is given of them. Even the great imperfection which runs nearly through the whole of the original, the want of reference to authorities, has not been supplied.

An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins, by James Simon, of Dublin, Merchant, F. R. S. was published at Dublin in 1749, 4to; to which a Supplement was added, by Snelling, with two additional Plates.

This, though modestly styled an Essay only, is, in my judgement, the most valuable of all the publications upon the Coinage of any part of the United Dominions. The original documents to which the author had access furnish information of the greatest interest, and of the highest authority. I am happy to seize this opportunity of acknowledging my numerous obligations to this work.

In 1756 were published, in 4to, "Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins, from the Norman Conquest to Henry VIII. inclusive, with a Calculation of their respective Values, and short Observations on each Plate; principally designed for the Use of young Collectors and all Dealers in Silver."

This publication, which passes under the name of Withy and Ryall, who were print-sellers, and the publishers of it, is well adapted to answer the purpose for which it was designed, but has, in course, little of historical detail. The author is not known, but I have reason to believe that it was executed under the eye of Mr. White, of Newgate Street, who furnished the Coins, and probably the materials for the letter-press.

The Coins which were struck by our early Monarchs in France had received but little illustration, when Dr. Ducarel gave to the

Some of them were cut in wood for a work published by John Baptist Haultin, in 4to, entitled, "Les Figures des Monnoyes de France."

Those of our Monarchs who were also Kings of France appear in the Plates which illustrate Le Blanc's *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, 4to, Paris, 1690, and Amsterdam 1692. But the most complete collection which was published prior to Dr. Ducarel's work is that given by De Boze in his *Monnoyes des Prelats et Barons de France*, which, however, is now superseded by Duby's *Monnoies des Prelats et Barons de France*, in two volumes 4to, Paris 1790.

Haultin's and De Boze's Works consist of Plates only.

publick, in 1757, "A Series of above Two Hundred Anglo-Gallic, or Norman and Aquitain, Coins, of the antient Kings of England, exhibited in Sixteen Copper Plates, and illustrated in Twelve Letters," 4to.

This useful Series, which is deserving of high commendation, might have been made still more interesting, had the Author incorporated into it that information which the French, Norman, and Gascon Rolls supply. Instead of which, he has contented himself with copying Carte's references to them in Nos XVI. XVII. and XVIII. of his Appendix. The Plates are but coarsely executed, and some of the Coins are more than once engraven.

In 1762 Thomas Snelling, a Bookseller and Dealer in Coins, published in folio a Series of Views (with engravings) of the Coins and Coinage of England from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of George III. inclusive. This Volume contained the Silver Coins; and in successive volumes, the last of which came out in 1769, he gave Views of the Gold and Copper Coins, and of the Money struck by English Princes in France; of Counterfeit Sterlings in imitation of the English Pennys; of Coins struck by the East India Company; of those coined in the West Indies, and in the Isle of Man; and of Pattern Pieces. He left

behind him a View of the Silver Coins of Scotland, and Plates of the Gold and Billon Money without any description; all which were published, after his death, in 1774. These works are highly valuable to collectors, but, being calculated chiefly for their assistance, the historical matter is merely incidental.

The earliest engraved series of Scottish Coins was given by Anderson in his valuable *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ*, printed at Edinburgh 1739, folio.

Those from James VI. to Queen Anne inclusive, are all that have relation to this Work. A learned Introduction by Ruddiman is prefixed, and contains much curious, and interesting information. Such of it as has reference to British Coinage will be found in its proper place in these Volumes.

It is written in Latin; but a translation, with notes, was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo. 1773, by Roger Robertson, of Ladykirk.

Mr. Adam de Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotiæ*, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, from the reign of William the Lion to the Union, 4to, 1766, is a very imperfect history of the Money of that Kingdom. The greater part of the body of the work is occupied by descriptions of the Coins, and with meagre accounts of the

transactions of each King's reign, which have no relation to the Mint, and which may be seen in every History of Scotland. The Preface, however, contains some curious information; but the Appendix is wholly taken from printed books; and the Plates are so coarsely executed as to be disgraceful even to this defective performance.

During the period of these various publications, others were designed, but never carried into execution: in particular the Society of Antiquaries of London made some feeble attempts, as a body, to form an extensive work upon the subject.

The importance of it seems to have attracted their attention at the renewal of their meetings (after the dissolution of the Society by James I.) about the year 1707.

At that time a sketch was drawn out, probably by Mr. Wanley, of what such a body might propose to do for the illustration of our national antiquities, one article of which is this: "An Historical Account of the Coin, and of the several Mints, with Draughts." ^P

No progress, however, seems to have been made in this design between that period and the year 1721-2, when the following memorandum, dated Jan. 3, appears upon their books. — "It was proposed that it would be much for the

^P Harleian MSS. No 7065, Mr. Gough's Introduction to the first volume of the *Archæologia*, page xxix.

honour of the Kingdom, and particularly of the Society, to attempt a complete description and history of all the Coins relating to Great Britain, from the earliest times to our own."

Dr. Stukeley undertook all the British Coins in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and elsewhere.

Mr. Holmes undertook the Saxon Coins in the possession of Mr. Hill, a Counsellor.

Mr. James Hill undertook to get a description of Lord Harley's Saxon Coins.

Mr. Roger Gale undertook the Roman which relate to Britain.

Mr. Samuel Gale undertook those of the Danish reigns.

Mr. President [Le Neve] undertook the English from the Conquest^q.

Of all these *undertakers*, no one, I believe, produced any thing, except Dr. Stukeley, who engraved some Plates of British Coins.

In 1724, when the Earl of Hertford was President, the Society determined to collect accounts of all the ancient Coins relative to Great Britain and its Dominions.

The British Class or Series was undertaken by Dr. Stukeley, who had engraved fifteen Plates before he died.

^q Memorand. Soc. Antiq. Ives's Select Papers, p. 1. note *.

^r Dr. Stukeley left behind him 23 Plates, which were published by his executor Richard Fleming, esq. in 4to.

In 1763 he announced, at the end of the Preface to *Palæographia Sacra*, his intention of publishing the *Origines Britannicæ*,

The Roman by Mr. Roger Gale and Mr. Ainsworth^a.

The Saxon by Mr. Wanley.

The Danish by Mr. S. Gale.

The English by the Earl of Hertford, Mr. Le Neve, M. William Nicholas, and the Rev. Mr. Creyk^t.

Martin Folkes, Esq. a Member of the Society, intending a complete account of the latter class in Gold and Silver, prevailed with them, in 1731, to lay aside their design after they had engraved some of Bishop [Archbishop] Sharp's, and other Tables of our Gold and Silver Coins^u.

and that he had then engraved 150 of the old British Coins, in all metals, as being authentick documents whereon to build disquisitions on that most curious subject. He likewise called upon those who had British Coins in their cabinets, to favour him with them, in order to engrave them, or to set their names to those already engraven.

In a letter to Macpherson, 4to, London, 1763, on his publication of *Fingal and Temora*, he speaks of another work which he intended to publish, viz. the *Medallick History of the first Kings of Britain*. "What I propose to do," says he, "is on the plan of their Coins, whereof there are innumerable now left. Coins are real monuments, and genuine testimonies. Our business is to find out their meaning. Very many I can with confidence explain; many more are reducible from them, to much probability," p. 6. He died in March 1765, and I have not been able to discover that he left any MS. upon this subject. His 23 Plates have no illustration whatsoever.

^a Author of the *Latin Dictionary*, &c. &c.

^t Chaplain and Executor to Heneage Earl of Winchelsea.

^u Vertue's MS. in the Archives of the Society. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. I. Nos 37, 38.

Upon the death of Mr. Folkes, in 1754, the Society purchased his Plates and Copy of his executors; and completed his design, by republishing his Tables and Plates, with Explanations, at their own expense, in 1763, in quarto*.

When this second edition of Folkes's Tables was in agitation, the Members of the Council were requested to communicate their remarks for the improvement of the work; and a set of the Plates, as they were left unfinished, by Folkes, was sent to each Member of the Council. Amongst the few who delivered in any

* Mr. Gough's Introduction to the first Volume of the *Archæologia*, p. xxxvii.

* The following is a copy of the Secretary's circular letter :

Sir,

The Society having lately purchased the copyright of Mr. Folkes's Tables of English Coins with the Copper Plates engraven for exemplifying the same, the Council have resolved on the publication of a new edition of that work, with a continuation of the Plates to the present time. For which purpose they have directed a set of the Plates already engraven to be sent to each Member of the present Council (they being by the late Statutes constituted the proper Committee of Papers) in order to be examined and compared with the printed book, of which they presume you have a copy; and whatever observations or additions you may judge proper to be made, they request you will be pleased to communicate them in writing, the better to enable them to complete and perfect the work in such a manner as may be of service to the publick, do honour to the Society, and promote its emolument by the publication.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

J. AMES, Secretary.

thing upon the subject, was Mr. Colebrooke (not of the Committee), who has written at the beginning of a copy of his *Observations*, now in the Society's Library,

Hos ego descripsi nummos, talit *Alter* honores,

Sic vos non vobis.

This *Alter* was Dr. Gifford, who drew up the descriptions of the Plates which are printed. It appears, however, in a letter from Mr. Colebrooke to Dr. Ward, dated Budge-row, Nov. 21, 1757, and inclosing his remarks on the eight additional Plates, that Mr. Colebrooke undertook to correct Dr. Gifford's descriptions.

[This letter is not dated, but Mr. North appears to have received his copy of the Plates in 1755.]

The Committee for revising Mr. Folkes's book of English Coins were,

Lord Willoughby,

Robert Bootle, Esq.

Dr. Chauncy,

Mr. Serjeant Eyre,

Dr. Lyttelton,

Dr. Ward,

James West, Esq.

Mr. North,

Dr. Gifford,

Dr. Ducarel.

[From Mr. North's copy of the Plates penes Richard Gough, Esq.]

Mr. North prepared remarks on the first seven Plates, but I know not whether they were communicated to the Council. I have inserted some of them in their proper places in the *Annals*, with the addition of his name. From two letters of the Secretary Norris, which are printed in the ninth volume of *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, page 616, it appears that his remarks had not been communicated at the beginning of the year 1756. I suspect that they were not carried further than the seventh Plate, and were never laid before the Society.

Y A rough draught of this letter is in Mr. Colebrooke's MS. above referred to.

Thus this third attempt of the Society, to illustrate the Coinage of Britain, proved to be nearly as unproductive as the two which preceded it; for the only addition to Folkes's Tables consists in the Explanation of the Plates, which were then first published.

Sir Symon D'Ewes intended to publish a work upon British Coins, to be intituled "*Prolegomena ad Thesaurum Nummarium Britanno Anglicum*"^a; which in 1649-50 was in such forwardness that a great part of it was ready transcribed for the press^a; but it was not, as I believe, ever printed.

Mr. Maurice Johnson projected an History of England by Coins, which, according to the account given of it, was to have been of considerable extent. It appears that he entertained the Spalding Society with a Numismatic History of the Kings in Britain, from Julius Cæsar to the end of the Western Empire. His plan for disposing the Coins, so as to answer his design of illustrating the British History, was reduced to 15 chards :

1. From Cassivelan to Boadicea.
2. From Boadicea to Adrian.

^a Bibl. Topographica Britannica, No XV. page 10.

^a Letter from Sir S. D'Ewes to Thomas Knyvet, Esq. dated March 21, 1649-50. In which he calls it, "that publike worke which in itselfe is a most heroicke and excellent subject, if it be not foiled by my weaknesse." Ives's Select Papers, p. 31.

3. From Adrian to Severus.
4. From Severus to Carausius.
5. From Carausius to Constantius.
6. From Constantius to Maximus.
7. From Maximus to Vortigern.
8. From Vortigern to Egbert.
9. From Egbert to William the Conqueror.
10. From William the Conqueror to Henry VIII.
11. From Henry VIII. to Elizabeth.
12. From Elizabeth to the Commonwealth.
13. From the Commonwealth to the Revolution.
14. From the Revolution to Queen Anne.
15. From Queen Anne to the Accession of the
House of Hanover.

His History from the Conquest to the Dissolution [Revolution?] is said to have occupied a considerable part of the fourth volume of the Minutes of the Spalding Society^b.

In the year 1782 was announced an intention of publishing Plates of the noble Collection of Saxon Coins preserved in Dr. Hunter's Museum, illustrated with notes and historical observations. The Description of the Coins, it was understood, would be given by the Rev. Mr. Southgate^c.

^b Bibl. Topog. Britannica, No XX. pp. xii. and xvii. I have endeavoured, but in vain, to procure some further information respecting this work. To my inquiries it was answered that the volume could not be found.

^c Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1782, page 519.

It is now generally known that Dr. Combe was to have been his coadjutor, and that two Plates of Sceattæ were actually engraved under his superintendence. The Antiquarian world must ever deeply lament that this undertaking was proceeded in no further. For what might not have been expected from an union of abilities so highly qualified for the undertaking?

The loss which the lovers of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities then sustained by the non-execution of the Engravings has been, however, more than compensated by the exertions of Taylor Combe, Esq. Medallist in the British Museum, who has united, in 33 Plates of British and Anglo-Saxon Coins, the treasures of other Cabinets with that of the late Dr. Hunter. Some unforeseen accidents have prevented the completion of his design to give these Engravings to the publick, accompanied with historical illustrations, and have thus deprived Antiquaries of that pleasure and instruction which his unquestioned knowledge of the subject would have afforded them^d.

^d The Plates are now in my possession, and form a part of that series which illustrates these volumes.

The following account of Mr. Combe's plan was given at the end of the Sale Catalogue of Mr. Tyssen's Coins in 1802. "Shortly will be published, A Series of Plates of Saxon Coins, comprising every variety of type which is to be found, not only in

These are all the historical accounts of the Coinage of Britain, either published or intended, which have fallen within my observation. I have given their character briefly, but freely, and, I trust, candidly. One radical error, however, which runs through the whole of these that have been made publick, still remains unnoticed; namely, that although they are written upon an art the theory of which is unsettled, and the practical part of it confessedly defective, yet their tendency is to gratify curiosity only, without any attempt at the improvement of theory, or the communication of practical knowledge. How far I may have succeeded in my endeavour to correct and supply their errors and deficiencies, my Readers must now decide. The work is before them, and is submitted to their judgment and candour.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my numerous obligations to those who have kindly favoured me with assistance, during the progress of my labours. From the enumeration

private cabinets, but in the extensive collections of the British Museum, Dr. William Hunter, and Samuel Tyssen, Esqrs. The Plates will be accompanied with letter-press, containing a short account of every King; the names of the Moneymen which appear on each type; a list of the different towns where the respective Coins were struck, and other particulars. To the above work will be prefixed, with remarks, a few Plates, representing the Money of the antient Britons."

it will be seen, that by their liberality I have been enabled to collect much original information, which would otherwise have been inaccessible. They are arranged nearly according to the regular order in which their favours were conferred.

To the Rev. John Price, late Keeper of the Bodleian Library, I should have been highly gratified to have returned my thanks in this manner for innumerable kind attentions, from my earliest researches, for various purposes, in that rich depository, even to the latest hour of his life; but death has unhappily deprived me of that gratification.

From repeated examinations of Mr. Southgate's select Cabinet of English Coins, which was ever most unrestrainedly open to my inspection, I first derived a practical knowledge of the various subjects of this work. His entertaining and instructive conversations led me to study them historically; and by his encouragement I was induced to prepare my collections for the publick eye. Had his valuable life been spared; they would have been rendered much more perfect than I fear they will now be found.

The memory of Richard Gough, Esq. must be dear to every lover of literature, and of our national antiquities. It has been eminently endeared to me by uninterrupted acts of friendship from the first moment of my acquaintance

with him. To him I am indebted for the most liberal use of the materials, both printed and manuscript, which his valuable library afforded; and for the gift of various books relating to the subject of my inquiries, either manuscript, or enriched with MS notes by some of the most eminent of our numismatic Antiquaries.

My access to Mint Accounts, preserved in the Exchequer, was greatly facilitated by the favour of Craven Ord, Esq.; and the labour of searching relieved by the share he kindly took in it, and his useful remarks on the nature of those Records. To him I am under further obligation for an introduction to Edward Taylor, Esq. who obligingly permitted me to make large extracts from the Red Book of the Exchequer, which is preserved in his department.

Charles Ellis, Esq. Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, favoured me with the inspection of Indentures, and other papers, preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster; and I am also grateful to him for copies of the most interesting of them, which he was pleased to furnish me with.

To the liberality of the Rev. John Brand, late Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, I owe the possession of several scarce tracts relating to English Money.

I have to regret that death has deprived me of the pleasure of expressing my gratitude to my much-respected and lamented friend and neighbour the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, late Vicar of Epsom (from whom I received much curious communication, and whose extensive library was ever open for my assistance); and also to Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart. for the loan of rare books, for many useful suggestions, and for valuable information.

I am greatly obliged to Joseph Planta, Esq. for his polite attentions, whilst I was engaged in making drawings from the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum.

The late Rev. Samuel Ayscough pointed out a variety of curious materials in that department of the British Museum which was under his care.

To that eminent Medallist Dr. Charles Combe I am highly indebted for the liberty of copying many valuable papers, drawn up by himself, Mr. Bartlett, and the Rev. Richard Southgate, and for frequent access to the noble cabinet of the late Dr. William Hunter.

Taylor Combe, Esq. to whom the superintendence of the Medallic department of the British Museum is so deservedly committed, has enabled me to render this work more complete than it would otherwise have been, by

the kind communication of several drawings, and of his MS collections. He has also favoured me with many important hints from his rich stores of learning upon this subject.

The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Batiks, Bart. K. B. James Bindley, Francis Douce, William Fawkenor, and W. Ashby Ashby, Esquires, have favoured me with the use of various scarce and valuable tracts, for which they have my grateful thanks.

Francis Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald, kindly communicated Vincent's Collections from the Records in the Tower, which greatly facilitated the researches I was sometime afterwards at liberty to make there. To him I am likewise under obligations for important extracts from the treasures in the Herald's College.

My much-respected friend Mr. John Nichols added to innumerable other acts of friendship an introduction to the Archives of the Corporation of London.

To Mr. Richard Miles I am obliged for the most liberal communication of various minute particulars relating to English Money, which his accurate practical knowledge of Coins so well qualifies him to give.

Edward Roberts, Esq. materially assisted this undertaking by permitting me to make

use of his copy of Snelling's Works, with MS notes by the author, and of Pollett's MSS. relating to the Mint.

An inspection of the Supplemental Plates will show my obligations to my much-regretted friend Barrè Charles Roberts, Esq.; for the very liberal manner in which he laid open to me the treasures of his extensive cabinet of English Money, and for the engravings which by his express desire have been presented to this work.

To William Bray, Esq. Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, I am indebted for several hints of importance to the accomplishment of my undertaking.

Henry Ellis, Esq. has obligingly shewn me much kind attention in his department in the British Museum.

To Frederick Augustus Barnard, Esq. his Majesty's Librarian, my thanks are due for access to the Royal Library.

Though late in this list of literary friends, yet the first in point of importance to the work, are my obligations to Samuel Lysons, Esq. Keeper of the Records in the Tower, for the most unlimited access to the treasures of information contained in the Rolls intrusted to his care; and for his kindness in pointing out various documents, which his unwearied researches

have discovered, amidst the mass of yet undindexed Records.

By William Illingworth and the late T. B. Richards, Esq. Sub-Commissioners of Records, I was favoured with frequent assistance in difficult points, which their accurate knowledge of the various hands, that occur in antient writings, so well enabled them to overcome; and likewise with references to articles of importance to my design.

The late Thomas Whipham, Esq. was pleased to supply me with considerable minute information respecting the mode of summoning the Jury, and other circumstances relative to the Trial of the Pix.

I acknowledge my high obligations to the Society of Antiquaries for permission to consult their rich collection of Proclamations, which they were pleased to grant some years since; and for their Plates of English Coins, lately, with the greatest liberality, consigned to my use for the illustration of this work.

To John Dent, Esq. I am indebted for the perusal of a volume, containing a curious collection of Tracts, printed and MS., relating to the great Re-coinage in the reign of King William III. For this favour I am beholden to the interference of the late Francis Annesley,

Esq. and therefore his memory claims my chief gratitude on this account.

By John Kipling, Esq. Clerk of the Records in the Rolls Chapel, I was favoured with access to the Records in his office.

The Rev. William Woolston has furnished me with some accurate drawings of unpublished Coins from his cabinet, which will be found in the Plates.

To George Chalmers, Esq. I owe access to a considerable Collection of Proclamations; and he obligingly put into my hands two valuable MS volumes on Mint affairs.

Some curious documents relating to the Archiepiscopal Mint of Canterbury were kindly pointed out, and transcribed for me, by the Rev. Henry John Todd, Keeper of the Archives in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rev. Mr. Blick, of Tamworth, was pleased to communicate a very rare Coin of Edward the Confessor, from his valuable collection. A Penny of similar type is engraven amongst the additions to the 28th Plate of Anglo-Saxon Money, N^o 3, from a specimen in Mrs. Banks's select cabinet. The drawing was put into my hands by Mr. Taylor Combe.

To Alexander Luders, Esq. late one of the Sub-Commissioners of Records, I am indebted

for the explanation of some difficult passages in the early Statutes relating to Money.

Mr. Sharpe of Coventry not only assisted my labours by curious extracts from the Corporation Records, but, with the greatest liberality, permitted me to select from his well-chosen cabinet some unpublished Coins, and to engrave them for this work.

My grateful thanks are due to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, for his obliging politeness in ordering several Coins to be sent up from his seat in Leicestershire for my inspection; and for his subsequent permission to view the whole of the collection there.

For the Elevation and Plan of the new Mint, which are so highly ornamental to these volumes, I am indebted to that eminent architect Robert Smirke, jun. Esq. It may be proper, however, to observe, that the entrances only were designed by him.

To Robert Bingley, Esq. the King's Assay Master in the Mint, I am obliged for a copy of the Charter of Incorporation granted by Charles II. to the Officers of the Mint; and for extracts from the MSS. of the late Mr. Alchorne, his predecessor in that office.

William Staunton, Esq. of Longbridge House, near Warwick, most liberally communicated

some rare Coins from the valuable collections which he has made relating to his native County.

That very interesting Styca of Ecgfrith, King of Northumberland, which affords the most ancient specimen of those Coins that has hitherto been discovered, is engraven in the 28th Plate from an impression communicated by the Rev. John Hodgson, one of the Secretaries of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The unremitting researches of the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, at length discovered a very scarce volume of Proclamations, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. which I had long sought for in vain, and which contains some that I was unable to meet with in any other collection^a.

The Rev. I. W. Martin, Rector of Keston in

^a As this volume afforded all the Proclamations which I had long been in search of, I concluded that it was the collection made by Humfrey Dyson, which bears this title :

“ A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth. Collected by Humfrey Dyson, 1618.”

This title I have found in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, prefixed to a Table of Elizabeth's Proclamations, and also of those in the reign of James I. ending with Sept. 10, in his 16th year.

By the favour of Mr. Bandinel I have seen the volume mentioned in the text, which contains the Proclamations of Elizabeth only. If it be not the first part of Dyson's Collection, that is still undiscovered.

Kent, favoured me with the examination of his beautiful specimen of the Gold Coinage of Henry III., which he obligingly conveyed to London for that purpose.

For interesting extracts from the valuable Collection of Stafford MSS. and for the present of a Volume of Tracts upon the subject of Money and Coinage, I am indebted to the kindness of William Hamper, esq. of Birmingham, who in the midst of the numerous avocations of an extensive mercantile concern, finds leisure not only for his own literary pursuits, but also to assist those of his friends.

After an enumeration so highly gratifying to my feelings, it is disgusting to be obliged to record instances of ungentlemanlike and illiberal conduct. But I consider it to be as much my duty to mark with disapprobation superciliousness and meanness, as it is to express my gratitude for civilities, and favours conferred. I trust I shall never be ashamed to own my obligations, nor afraid to stigmatize illiberality or insolence.

Fortunately for the cause of truth, the number of those who selfishly withhold information bears scarcely any proportion to those who spontaneously communicate it. In the course of my researches after materials for this work,

I have met with no more than two of the former description.

I shall not honour their names by forming them into an Appendix to the foregoing List of Gentlemen and Scholars; but they will be found in their proper places in the body of this work, where I must of necessity record those withholders of information as an apology for incorrectness, or scantiness of materials.

The whole of the first Edition of this Work having been taken off within six months, I have been induced to offer to the Publick one in a cheaper form, in order to extend the knowledge of the historical facts which it contains.

Flattering as this rapid sale is to me as an Author, its value has been greatly enhanced by the admission which the publication of the Work has procured for me to several valuable Cabinets, the riches of which have been most liberally laid open to me, and have afforded numerous additional ornaments and illustrations.

I have also been highly gratified to find that whilst I have gained new friends, those who formerly assisted me have deemed me not unworthy of their remarks, and further encouragement for the improvement of my Work.

These favours are acknowledged, as before, nearly according to the order in which they occurred.

George Welsh, Esq. of Stansted, in Essex, at a very early period of my labours favoured me with two British Coins, of which I then took drawings, but was not able to engrave them for want of room. He will, I trust, accept this excuse for my tardiness in availing myself of his kind communication^b.

To George Dewdney, Esq. I am obliged for permission to inspect the Anglo-Saxon Coins which were found upon his farm near Dorking, in Surrey; and for the very liberal manner in which he entrusted me with several of them, for the purpose of making drawings at my leisure.

From George Chalmers, Esq. I received Extracts from the Registers of the Board of Trade, respecting Coins for the use of the Colonies.

By Mr. Miles, Mr. Richard Sainthill, jun. and Mr. Young, I have been favoured with specimens of these Coins for engraving.

Dr. Wilkins, the learned Librarian of the Hon. East India Company, kindly enabled me

^b They now form Nos 1 and 2 in the 29th Plate of Anglo-Saxon Coins.

to illustrate this Work with representations of the Coins which have been struck for the use of their Settlements; and favoured me with a translation of the Persian and other inscriptions.

The extensive knowledge of the antient history of this Kingdom which Mr. Henry Petrie is so well known to possess, has been most freely communicated for the correction and improvement of the Annals of Coinage.

To William Hamper, Esq. and to the exertions of his friends, I owe my introduction to Colonel Walsham, who in the most liberal manner put into my hands the valuable MS Collections of his grandfather, (Samuel Garbett, Esq. late of Birmingham,) relating to the theory of Money and the affairs of the Mint. I must not, however, omit, that from the liberality of Messrs. Lackington and Co. I had previously received three small volumes, which were printed by Mr. Garbett in 1792, for distribution amongst his friends. They contain the most material parts of his Collections.

I take this opportunity to return thanks to the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, the Bodleian Librarian, for access to the Cabinet of Coins in his custody, and for his polite attention during a residence of some days under his hospitable roof.

To the Rev. H. Cotton, J. L. Sheppard, Esq. and the Rev. W. Cornforth, I am indebted for the use of Coins which they have obligingly sent from their Collections for my inspection.

The valuable Cabinets of the Rev. J. W. Martin, H. R. Willett, Esq. and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq. have been most liberally laid open to me, with permission to select any of their treasures for publication. The Plates which are added to this Edition will show how greatly the Work has been improved and illustrated by their generous communications.

To the Society of Antiquaries I have to repeat my thanks for the use of the Plates to Folkes's Tables, and for permission to copy the Engravings of the Coins lately found near Dorking, from Plates IX. and X. in the XIXth Volume of the *Archæologia*.

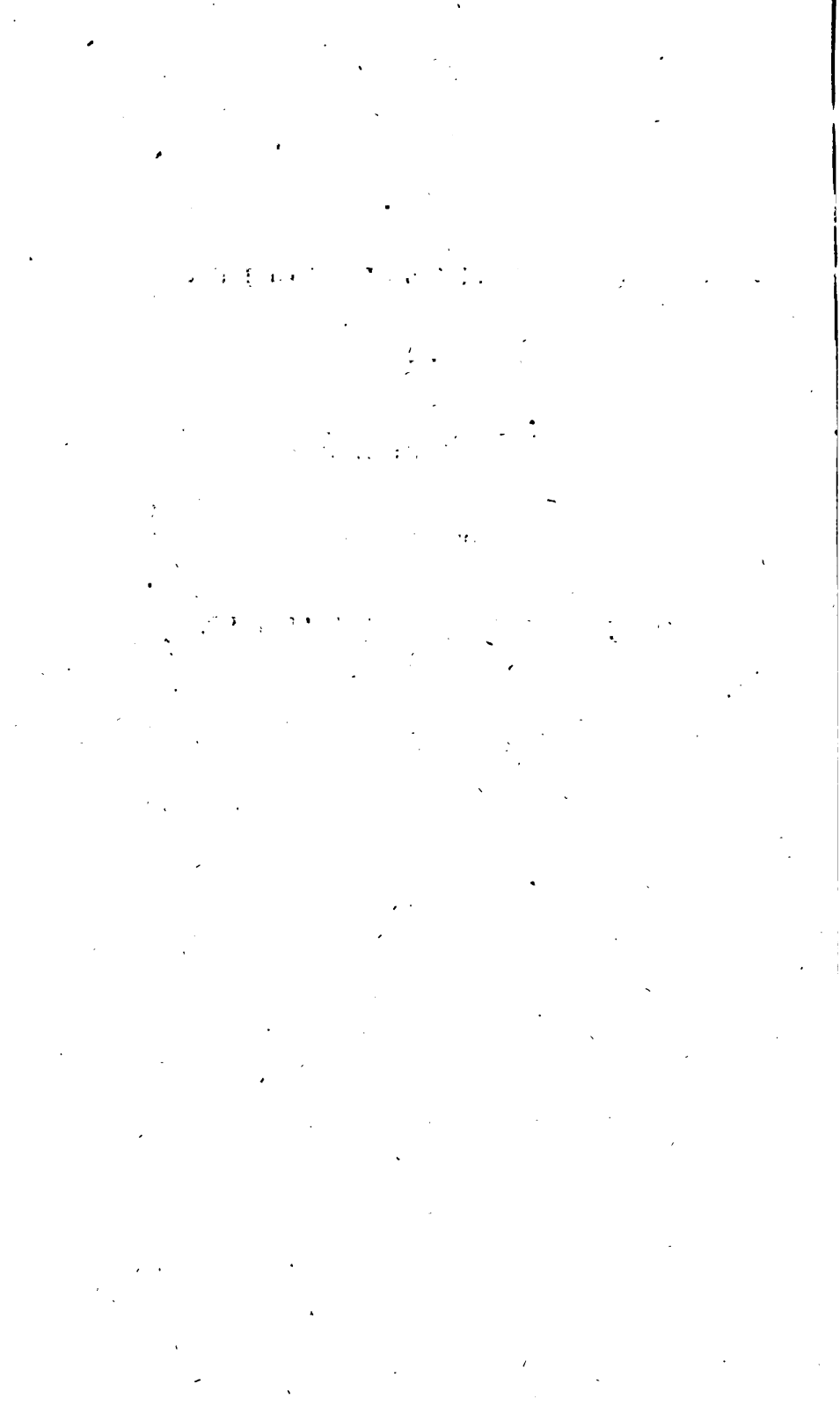
My grateful thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, for their liberality in allowing a drawing to be made from a Coin of Archbishop Ethered, which has lately been placed in that rich national repository.

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ANNALS
OF THE
COINAGE OF BRITAIN
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.



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INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN OF MONEY.

IN the most early stage of Society, when the wants of man are confined to the absolute necessities of life, Barter may be sufficient for every purpose of exchange. But this is a point at which Society cannot long remain fixed; and the first step toward civilization introduces a train of wants that will require a more perfect medium of commerce: something which, by general consent, shall be received, at a determinate value, in exchange for all other things.

At first this medium seems to have been formed of some of the necessities of life (Cattle for instance, whence the term *Pecunia* is derived *); but

* In Domesday Book, *Pecunia* occurs very rarely as denoting Money *, but is used for Cattle almost universally; as “*Pastura ad Pecuniam Villæ.*” [Vol. I. folio 127]; in a few instances, however, the term appears to have a more extensive meaning, and to comprehend all possessions whatsoever. Thus in folio 179, of the same Volume, it is said, “*Si quis morte præventus non divisisset quæ sua erant, rex habebit omnem ejus pecuniam.*” In the confined sense of Cattle, it continued to be used at a later period; as in the Charter by which Thomas fitz Cospatrick granted the Grange of Flemingby to the Abbey of Holmecoltram, wherein is this provision — “*Si autem pecunia mea evaserit infra boscum eorum, vel pecunia eorum infra boscum meum, remittetur ex utraque parte, sine*

* Vol. I. fol. 40. b.—196. b.—376. b. These three are all the instances which Mr. Ellis's accurate examination of that Record could discover [Gen. Intro. to Domesday, p. liv.]

this mode partook too much of the inconveniences of simple barter^b, and therefore was probably of no very long duration. Other substances were then adopted, which were such as had no real worth in themselves (for they contribute not to the support or comfort of life, but only administer to its luxuries), yet had a value put upon them by common consent. Of this kind are the precious Metals, which at a very remote period were given and received by weight; and in more recent times, the Wampum of America; the Cowries of Africa; and the red Feathers of the Islands in the Great Southern Ocean; &c. &c. None of these, however, can be considered as perfect Money; even the circulation of Gold and Silver, by weight, which approaches the nearest to the convenience of Coins, was

gravamine, si tamen non fuerit ex consuetudine." [Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.* Vol. III. page 36. The date of this Charter is not given; but the Abbey was not founded until the year 1150.]

The English word *cattle* has likewise the same kind of double signification, for it is obviously the origin of the law term *chattels*. In some instances it seems to have been used antiently in the sense of price, or payment, as in these words of Sir John Mandeville, who wrote in the reign of Edward III. — "For more precyous *catelle* ne gretter ransom, ne myghte he put for us, than his blessed body, his precyous blood, and his holy lyf, that he thrallled for us." [Prologue to his *Voiage and Travaile*, p. 3.] A little further on he has the same word, in the modern meaning of *chattels* — "And the comoun people, that wolde putte here bodyes and here *catelle*, for to conquer our heritage." [p. 5.] It is remarkable that throughout his book he never designates those quadrupeds which are used for food by the word *cattle*, but always calls them either *bestes* or *bestaylle*. [See pages 78 and 344, &c. &c.]

^b That is, he who had occasion to exchange cattle for any other thing, must find a person who had that article to dispose of, and at the same time wanted cattle.

soon found to be insufficient for the purposes of internal commerce, because the time which must be necessarily occupied in weighing and assaying was more than could be spared without inconvenience. To remedy this, a method was devised to ascertain the weight and purity of the metal, on bare inspection, by a stamp impressed upon it.

The date of this invention is too remote, and too much involved in fable, to be accurately ascertained. From this obscurity, however, its high antiquity may be fairly inferred, and its origin be placed prior to all authentic profane history.

PRIVILEGE OF COINING AND GIVING VALUE TO COINS.

The Privilege of Coining Money has ever been claimed, and I believe allowed, as the especial Prerogative of the Executive Power in every nation; and for this reason, says Blackstone, that as Money is the medium of commerce, it is the King's Prerogative, as the arbiter of domestic commerce, to give it authority, or make it current^c.

The value at which the Coins are to be current is likewise in the breast of the King; and if any unusual pieces are coined, their value must be ascertained by Proclamation. But Sir William Blackstone seems inclined to think that in this Kingdom the Royal Prerogative does not extend to the debasing or enhancing the value of the Coin, below or above the sterling value; and in proof of his opinion refers to the fifth Statute of the 25th year

^c Commentaries, vol. I. p. 276.

of Edward III. Chapter, the 13th; the words of which are, "That the Money of Gold and Silver which now runneth shall not be impaired in weight nor in allay; but *as soon as a good way may be found*, the same be put in the antient state, as in the Sterling." But it is clear that either it was not the intention of this Statute to interfere with the King's Prerogative respecting the alteration of the Money, or that the words which I have marked by Italicks were considered as a saving clause, which rendered any compliance with the provisions of the Statute unnecessary, as under it might be pleaded, that the good way had not yet been found; for, in fact, Edward III. not only never did restore the antient standard, but also, in this very 25th year, the standard, both of Gold and Silver, was actually lowered to that rate which continued during the whole of his reign; and further variations in either the one or the other metal are to be found, at certain periods, as low as the reign of Charles II.

Blackstone says, slightly, that Sir Matthew Hale *appears* to be of another opinion^d; but the truth is, that he is *decidedly* of another opinion; for he says, "the legitimation of Money, and the giving it its denominated value, is justly reckoned *in jura majestatis*; and in England it is one special part of the King's Prerogative^e." And, further, that as to the denomination or extrinsic value of Coin, it is and

^d Commentaries, vol. I. p. 278. The Author of the Mirror, treating "Des Articles per viels Roys ordeins," saith thus: "Ordein fuit que nul Roy de cest Realme ne poet changer sa Money, ne impairer, ne amender, ne auter Money faire, que de Ore ou d'Argent, sans l'assent de tous ses Countes;" that is, without assent of Parliament. [Coke, 2d Inst. *Articuli super Chartas*.]

^e Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. p. 188.

ought to be given to the King, as his unquestionable prerogative; and that it is seen in the following particulars:

First, In the first institution of any Coin within this Kingdom, he, and he alone, sets the weight, the allay, the denominated value of all Coin; this is done commonly by Indenture between the King and the Master of the Mint.

Secondly, He may, by his Proclamation, legitimate Foreign Coin, and make it Current Money of this Kingdom, according to the value imposed by such Proclamation. This power is recognised by various Statutes^f.

Thirdly, He may inhance the external denomination of any Coin already established by his Proclamation; and thus it hath been gradually done almost in all ages. This is sometimes called imbasing of Coin, and sometimes inhansing it; and it is both; it is an inhansing of Coin in respect of the extrinsic value or denomination, but an imbasing in regard of the intrinsic value^g.

Fourthly, He may, by his Prerogative, imbase the species or material of the Coin, and yet keep it up in the same denominated or extrinsic value as before. It is true, that the imbasing of Money in point of allay hath not been very usually practised in England, and it would be a dishonour to the Nation if it should; neither is it safe to be attempted without Parliamentary advice; but surely, if we respect the right of the thing, it is within the King's power to do it.

My Lord Coke, in his Comment on *Articuli super*

^f As 1 Mary, chap. 6; 5 Eliz. chap. 11; and 18 Eliz. chap. 1.

^g Various instances of this may be seen in the Annals.

Cartas, Cap. 20, seems to imply that the alteration of Money in weight or alloy may not be without Act of Parliament; and for that purpose cites "The Mirror of Justices," Cap. 1, § 3; the Statutes of 25 Edward III. Cap. 13^b, and 9 Henry V. Sess. 2, Cap. 6; and the Parliament Roll of 17 Edward III. n. 15. But all that a man can conclude upon these is, that it is neither safe nor honourable for the King to imbase his Coin below sterling; if it be at any time done, it is fit to be done by assent of Parliament; but certainly all that it concludes is, that *feri non debuit*, but *factum valet*ⁱ.

Our Monarchs seem to have guarded this part of their Prerogative with extreme jealousy, and they have frequently resisted attempts to trench upon it.

In the 5th year of Edward II. the Lords Ordainers (to whom the Government of the Kingdom was then intrusted) provided that no change should be made in the Coin of the Realm without the consent of the Barons in Parliament^k; but this was annulled in the Parliament which sat at York in his 15th year^l.

In the 7th and 8th W. III. Cap. I. the second Section ordains that such weight and fineness as are prescribed by the present Indenture are declared to be, and shall remain to be, the standard of and for the lawful Silver Coin of this Kingdom. This *everlasting* Clause was repealed previous to a new Coinage of Silver in 1817, by Stat. 56 G. III. c. 68.

Other attempts were made to restrain the exercise of this Prerogative in the 20th and 25th years of

^b Sir Matthew Hale had before observed, that, though this Statute be against it, yet it doth not absolutely forbid it. p. 193.

ⁱ Hale's Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. pp. 191—194.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. I. p. 285.

^l Id. p. 286.

Edward III. who evaded giving a positive answer to the Petitions of the Commons in the first instance ; and in the second the Statute was rendered of no effect by the saving clause before mentioned^m; and the Prerogative was acted upon, until at length it was recognised and confirmed by a Statute, 19 Henry VII. Chap. 5, which enacted that the Coins, both of Gold and Silver, should be current in payment for the sum that they were coined for. At subsequent periods also this Prerogative has been further acknowledged, as in the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. Chap. 19, which forbids the giving or receiving for Money a greater value than it had been declared by the King's Proclamation to be current for; in the Statute 6 and 7 William III. which enacts that no one shall sell or pay Silver Money unclipped for more than the same was coined for, and ought by law to go for; and in a Statute which was passed in the 51st year of the present reign, to protect the Gold Coins from being melted down.

Since the Revolution it has happened that the Kings of this Realm have occasionally exercised this Prerogative, on smaller occasions, without consulting the two Houses of Parliament: yet on greater occasions, such as a general Re-coinage, they have always thought it right to avail themselves of their advice and supportⁿ.

^m See Annals, under those years.

ⁿ Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, pp. 22—24. According to Lord Bacon, Henry VII. the most politic Monarch who ever sat upon the throne of England, judged it expedient to permit all matters relating to his Mint to pass under the cognizance of Parliament. "He did much to maintaine and countenance his Laws, which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handleed, that neither Prerogative nor

As to the impression of the Coins, the stamping thereof is the unquestionable prerogative of the Crown^o; and it was in very few instances communicated to those persons on whom the privilege of coining was conferred; for, in general, the dies were sent to them, either from the Exchequer or from the Master of the Mint in the Tower. They were permitted, however, to add some distinguishing mark to their Coins, such as the initials of their name, part of their arms, &c. &c.

The Coins are usually made current by Proclamation; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised in all cases, for there is scarcely any King's reign but there are various stamps or impressions of Money which never were thus published: and it seems that the Evidence of the Officers of the Mint, or their Indenture, would be sufficient to prove a Coin current, if it were not otherwise commonly known. But Proclamation is necessary in these cases following:

To legitimate and make current Foreign Coin;
 To legitimate Base Coin of a Standard below Sterling;

To inhance any Coin, already current, to an higher denomination;

And to decry any Coin that is current in usage or payment^p.

Profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint, and Wars, and Marshall Discipline (things of absolute power), he would nevertheless bring to Parliament." [Hist. of Henry VII. p. 234.]

^o Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 277.

^p Hale's Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. p. 197.

MATERIALS OF MONEY.

With regard to the Materials of which Money is to be made, Sir Edward Coke lays it down that the Money of England must be either Gold or Silver^q. At the time he wrote no other metals had been coined by authority of the Monarch^r; but Copper Coins were issued by Charles II. in 1672, to be current under certain limitations. Similar limitations were, by Statute 14 George III. Chap. 42, extended to the Silver Coins; so that, at this time, the Gold is the only Money which is unlimited in its circulation, and therefore that metal alone must be considered as forming the legitimate Coinage of this Kingdom; the other Money being subordinate thereto, and intended to supply the want of smaller Coins, into which Gold cannot be divided without the greatest inconvenience, on account of the minuteness of the several pieces. The Materials of which the antient Britons formed that medium of exchange which circulated amongst them, when Cæsar first landed upon their shores, were, according to his representation, Brass and Iron^s; but at a

^q Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 277, referring to Coke's 2d Institute, 577.

^r The Farthing Tokens of James I. and Charles I. are not worthy of the name of Coins.

^s Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Lib. V. cap. 10. The Historian of Dorsetshire has engraved some pieces which are vulgarly called Coal Money, from the material of which they are composed; and says, that Antiquaries conclude them to be British Antiquities, but whether Amulets or Money is not agreed. It should seem that he was inclined to adopt the latter, as he observes that Coal is a cant term for Money. [Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. I. p. 197;

later period, that is, during the reign of Cunobeline, they appear to have struck Gold, Silver, and Copper.

During the existence of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Government, there is reason to believe that no other metals besides Silver and Brass were coined in their Mints.

The use of the latter metal appears to have been rejected by the Anglo-Norman Monarchs, and Silver became the sole material of Coinage for a long extended period, until the more precious metal, Gold, was introduced into the Mint by Henry III.

From this metal, together with Silver, were formed all the Coins which, during several centuries, the Monarchs of England permitted to be issued from their Mints; to the great inconvenience of their inferior subjects, who required for their purchases Money of smaller value than the Penny, which seems to have been the lowest Coin until the reign of Edward I. as no Halfpennies nor Farthings are known of any of the Anglo-Norman Monarchs before his time^t. It has been supposed, by various Authors, that in early times this inconvenience was in a great measure obviated by the coinage of Pennies with a Cross deeply indented on the Reverse, in order to facilitate their division into Halfpennies and Farthings; but such Coins have

2d edit. p. 317.] The pieces are evidently turned in a lathe, with good mouldings on one side; and it is not probable that the Britons possessed such a machine, or the skill to use it in so workmanlike a manner if they had it.

^t This is to be understood of their English Coinage only, for Halfpennies and Farthings of Irish Money, struck by King John, still exist.—The reign of Edward the Elder affords the only proof, now known, of the Coinage of Silver under the value of a Penny, by the Anglo-Saxons.

never yet been found, nor is it credible that any Prince would strike his Money in such a manner as to insure the destruction of a great proportion of it^u.

The smallest pieces of Silver, *i. e.* the Farthings, were coined as long as the increased value of that metal would permit; but at length their size was of necessity so much diminished, that the making them totally ceased in the reign of Edward VI.

To supply their place, James the First caused Farthing Tokens of Brass and Copper to be struck, but at a value so much inferior to the rate at which they were issued, that it was not thought fit to recognise them as legitimate Coins, and to enforce their currency, and therefore they soon sunk into contempt and disuse.

The first real Copper Money was coined by Charles II. in 1665; but it does not appear that it was ever made current, and therefore the commencement of a regular Coinage of that metal must be dated in the year 1672.

Tin was likewise coined by him in 1684.

The necessities of James II. gave rise to the Coinage of substances still more intrinsically worthless than even Copper and Tin; namely, Gun-metal and Pewter. Such Coinages, however, are scarcely worthy of enumeration here, as they never were imitated, the practice ceasing with the ruin of the inventor.

Thus it appears that the more precious Metals have been for ages, and still continue to be, used in

^u It appears extraordinary that the smaller pieces were not coined by the Anglo-Norman Kings, as it is certain they were by Edward the Elder, and probably by other of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

this Kingdom as the chief Materials of Coins. But although they are, of all known substances, the best calculated, in some respects, for that purpose, because they are the most solid, divisible, and durable, yet they possess other qualities which are highly injurious to the integrity and preservation of the Coins, as they expose them to the avarice and the depredations of mankind. This is a natural consequence of their high intrinsic value as articles of commerce, which not only gives a considerable profit upon the issuing of base counterfeits, but also causes the Coins themselves to be diminished by clipping, and other various means, and even at times to be actually melted down, and destroyed, on any increase in the value of that Bullion of which they are composed.

The precious Metals, being articles of commerce in the state of Bullion, are liable, like other articles of commerce, to fluctuations in price, occasioned either by the demand for each of them respectively, or the quantity in the market, by which their relative proportions to each other are almost perpetually varying. These alterations are carefully watched by needy men, who, in defiance of the Laws of their Country, avail themselves of the advantage which is to be made by the exchange of one kind of Money for the other, to the destruction of those Coins which are formed of that metal which happens to rise in value above the price at which it is fixed in the Mint. These are some of the inconveniences which attach to Coins formed of the precious Metals, and which, as they originate in qualities necessarily inherent in them, can only be palliated, but not absolutely removed.

If, however, in order to remedy these inconveniences, which result from the intrinsic value of the materials, a Coinage should be projected of some substance which is supposed to have none; it will be found that this expedient, whilst it obviates all those objections which are inseparable from a Coinage of Gold and Silver, will yet introduce others which are absolutely insurmountable. History records one attempt, and one only^w, to form a Coinage upon this principle. The Iron Coins of Sparta are said to have been quenched in vinegar, in order to render them unfit for those purposes to which that metal may be applied when in a malleable state, and thus to have rendered it of no value^x.

But this mode of Coinage (even if it were possible for that operation to have produced upon the metal the required effect) was, like many other parts of Lycurgus's plan, specious in theory, but defective when applied to practice. It required, to give it the

^w Unless the following extract, from Sir John Maundevile's *Voyage*, should be allowed to prove the existence of a Leather and Paper Currency in Tartary during the fourteenth century: "This Emperour [i. e. the Great Chan] may dispenden als moche as he wile, withouten estymacioun. For he despendethe not, ne makethe no Money, but of Lether emprented, or of Papyre. And of that Money, is som of gretter prys, and som of lasse prys, afre the dyversitee of his Statutes. And whan that Money hathe ronne so longe that it begynneth to waste, than men beren it to the Emperoures Tresorye: and than thei taken newe Money for the olde. And that Money gothe thorghe out alle the Contree, and thorghe out alle his Provynces. For there and bezonde hem, thei make no Money nouthur of Gold nor of Sylver. And therefore he may despende y now, and outrageously." [Maundevile's *Voyage*, London, 1727, 8vo. p. 287.]

^x Plutarchi Opera, in Vita Lycurgi, vol. I. p. 44, ed. Paris, 1624.

proper force, a simplicity of manners which has never existed, for a length of time, in any state possessing the means of intercourse with its neighbours. It precluded the Spartans from all possibility of exchange with other nations (except by the way of barter) and reduced them to the necessity of confining their wants almost solely to the productions of their own country. But such a forbearance was more than even Spartan virtue could long endure. Though it cannot now be exactly ascertained at what period they began to despise their own rude Money, and to covet the more generally circulating Coins of their neighbours, yet it is known that, in little more than half a century from the establishment of Lycurgus's Code, a dispute concerning Money (which unquestionably was not the Money of Sparta) was the cause of the first Messenian War.

The failure of this experiment, which was made under circumstances the most favourable, and supported for a time by popular enthusiasm, clearly evinces it to be necessary that the Material of Money should have some intrinsic value; no matter whether it be real, or only given to it by the general consent of mankind. If it be otherwise, it will be received from necessity alone; and the universal adoption of Money of that kind would, in a short time, return commerce to the barbarism of its infant state, and re-establish barter as the universal mode of exchange.

STANDARD.

From the high intrinsic value of the Materials which have been generally adopted for the formation of Money, and from the necessity of mixing those Materials with others of inferior worth, in order to their preservation, has been derived the practice of reducing that mixture to a fixed proportion, which is called The Standard of Fineness. There is also another Standard, namely, that of the Weight of each individual Coin. And both these two are commonly understood when the Standard of the Coins is spoken of.

From the slight account which Cæsar has afforded us respecting the Brazen and Iron substitutes for Money amongst the antient Britons, no conclusions can be drawn as to the Standard adopted by them, as he says only, in general terms, that they adjusted their brazen masses and iron rings to a fixed weight, but has not given any proportions.

The Coins of Cunobeline are of too high a value, from their rarity, to be subjected to an assay, and consequently there are no means by which their Standard of Fineness can be ascertained; and it will be seen, from the Explanation of the Plates, that those which have been preserved to our times do not form aliquot parts of any certain unit. This, it is probable, was occasioned only by the inaccuracy of the workmen; but it totally prevents the formation of any theory as to their relative value with respect to each other.

The Standard of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Money is involved in almost equal obscurity.

No written documents have yet appeared which can elucidate the subject; and from the Coins themselves (unequally formed as they are, and varying from about 14 Troy Grains to somewhat more than 26) no correct inferences can be drawn as to their weight. If it be true, however, as it is conjectured, and indeed (as will be seen in the following Annals) is highly probable, that William the First made no alteration in the Standard, which was used in the Mints of this Kingdom, at his arrival here; and that the Statute of the 51st year of Henry III. which declared the weight of the English Penny, was declaratory only, and did not introduce any new proportion; it may fairly be concluded that the Anglo-Saxon Pennies, as well as the Anglo-Norman, vary from that weight only on account of the carelessness or incompetency of the Moneyers. The fineness appears to have been nearly equal to the present Standard, namely, eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, and eighteen pennyweights of allay; with the exception of some particular Coins of Burghred King of Mercia, and of Aelfred the Great, which are of much coarser metal. The earliest accounts which mention this Standard of Fineness, and which are to be found even in the reign of Edward I.^z always speak of it as of high antiquity, and distinguish it by the title of The Old Standard of England.

To the Saxons then may be referred, with great probability, the introduction of this Standard, both of Fineness and of Weight, into the Mints of Britain.

^z See the Annals, under the year 1299 or 1300, the 28th of Edward I.

It has been conjectured, but as it should seem on very slight evidence, that the Saxons were, before their arrival in Britain, entirely ignorant of the Arts, and that they had not even any Coined Money. But this latter supposition is contradicted by many circumstances, and by none more forcibly than by their early Coinage in this Island; which, instead of imitating the Roman Coins, as it would unquestionably have done had the Saxons been unacquainted with Money before their arrival here, differs from it not only in type, but in the more essential points of weight and fineness; for, if the Standard of the Anglo-Saxon Money be accurately stated above, it is of less alloy than the Roman; and their Money Pound is considerably heavier than the highest estimate at which the Roman weights have been placed^a. The weight of the Anglo-Saxon Coins was regulated by a Pound which, I presume, they brought with them from Germany, and which in later times was known in that Country by the name of the Cologne Weight. It was applied here solely to the use of the Mint, and was known for

^a The old Tower or Saxon Ounce, as Troy Grains. Dec.
taken from Accounts in the Exchequer,

A. D. 1527	- - - - -	450	—
The present Colonia Ounce	- - -	451	38

The old Saxon or Tower Ounce, as taken from the Chamber of Accounts at Paris, about Edward the Third's time, after A. D. 1327.	451	76
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[Clarke's Connexion of Roman, Saxon,
and English Coins, p. 24.]

Greaves makes the Roman Ounce	- - -	438	—
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[See his Works, vol. I. p. 340.]

Dr. Langwith reckons it at no more than	434	—
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[Observations on Arbuthnot, p. 4.]

many years by the appellation of the Pound Tower, that place being the chief seat of the Mint.

TOWER POUND.

I know not when it first received that appellation, but I have met with it in an Indenture of the 18th year of Edward III. and it continued in use until the 18th year of Henry VIII. when it was abolished by Proclamation, and the Pound Troy was established in its stead.

The Pound Tower differed from that which is called Troy in weight only, for it consisted of twelve ounces, each ounce of 20 pennyweights, and each pennyweight of 24 grains; but the whole was lighter than the Troy Pound by three quarters of an ounce. The following Table will shew the proportions of the divisions of these two Pounds.

Thirty-two Wheat Corns, from the midst of the ear, the weight of a Sterling^b.

1½	Wheat Corn equal to one Troy Grain.	
32	24	Pennyweight equal to 22½ Troy Grains.
	480	20 Ounce equal to 450 Troy Grains.
	5760	240 12 Pound Tower equal to 5400 Grains, or 11½ Oz. Troy. ^c

^b This was established by a Statute of uncertain date, but which is commonly placed under the 51st year of Henry III.

^c The following comparison of the Troy weight with Tower is in a MS. relating to Mint affairs in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; the first page of which is signed by Sir Robert Cotton.

Troy Weight.	Tower Weight.
A Grain.	is equal to. . . a Grain and 8 Mites.
A Pennyweight	dwt. 1½ Grains and 2 Mites.
A Quarter of an Ounce. . .	Quarter and 8 Grains.

This Standard of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine and eighteen pennyweights of alloy, and of the weight of twenty-four grains to each Penny, became highly respected throughout Europe, and was distinguished by the name of Sterling, a term which at length came to be considered as equivalent to that of Penny, and indeed almost superseded it.

STERLING.

Although this word has continued in use even to these times, yet its origin and derivation are still doubtful and unsettled.

The opinions of writers upon this subject are extremely various; but the most probable appears to be that which deduces it from the Easterlings, who at some period were employed in regulating the Coinage; and that period I would fix between the year 1086, when the great survey of the Kingdom was completed, in the reign of William I. and the 4th of Henry II. A. D. 1158, when the first instance of its use occurs^d. For if the term had been introduced before the completion of Domesday Book, it

Troy Weight.	Tower Weight.
A Half Ounce.....	Half and 16 Grains.
An Ounce	Ounce and quarter and 2 Grains.
A Pound.....	12 Ounces 16 dwts.
A Journey of 30lb.....	32 lb.
100 lb.....	106 lb. and 8 Grains.

This Table appears to have been drawn up by some one connected with the Mint, from the minute divisions of the Grain, and from the technical term of a Journey, both of which are peculiar to that office.

^d Le Blanc, *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, p. 153.

is scarcely possible that it should not have appeared in that Record, where such various modes of payment are stated.

This derivation has also the sanction of considerable antiquity. Walter de Pinchbeck, who was a Monk of St. Edmundsbury in the reign of Edward I. says, when describing the mode of Coinage which was then used, "*sed Moneta Angliæ fertur dicta fuisse à nominibus opificum, ut Floreni à nominibus Florentiorum, ita Sterlingi à nominibus Esterlingorum nomina sua contraxerunt, qui hujusmodi monetam in Anglia primitus componebant.*"^e

The term *fertur*, in this passage, seems to place the arrival of these workmen at some time beyond the memory of the writer (who, as he lived in an Abbey which enjoyed the privilege of a Mint, could scarcely have failed to know the circumstance personally, if it had taken place in his own time); and this might well have been the case, even if they were originally brought over in the reign of King Henry II. in whose fourth year the money of this kingdom, which had been much debased during the time of King Stephen, was restored to its due weight and fineness^f.

A very able numismatic antiquary has objected to this derivation, because, whilst all our Historians write the word *Esterlingi*, it is in our public records invariably *Sterlingi*. The reason of which differ-

^e Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi, Appendix, p. 134.

^f This is the date in *Annales Waverlienses*, viz. 1158: but Hoveden fixes it in 1156. Both these authors speak of it as a general Re-coinage; a circumstance which renders very probable the introduction of new workmen.

ence, he says, it was never his good luck to discover; but that it is alone sufficient to invalidate the opinion that they were first coined by the Eas-terlings^g.

The accuracy of this statement cannot, I believe, be contested; but the weight of it may be balanced by an observation which is equally incontestable, namely, that, wherever the French language is used in our public Records, there the initial *E* is retained^h.

In this case of doubt my readers must determine the question by their own judgment; and that they may be the better enabled to do this, I shall give below a reference to the various derivations of the term *Sterling*, by those who have written upon the subject, classed under the several headsⁱ.

^g North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 29.

^h See the Statutes to the end of Edward III.; and Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. *passim*, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. IV. p. 777, and vol. V. p. 45, and on the same Roll, *Libras Sterlingorum*, p. 46.

ⁱ STARE OR STARLING.

Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, page 171, note a. Oxon. 1679, folio.

Polydore Vergil, *Lib. XVI.* page 304. Basil, folio, 1534.

Belleforest's *Cosmography*, as quoted by Thynn, in *Hearne's Curious Discourses*, vol. I. p. 13.

A LITTLE STAR.

Polydore Vergil, as quoted above.

Belleforest, as quoted above.

Nicolson's *English Historical Library*, p. 253.

Tate, in *Hearne's Curious Discourses*, vol. II. p. 316.

STERLING IN SCOTLAND.

Grafton's *Chronicle*, under the year 1227.

Holland, in *Curious Discourses*, vol. II. p. 319.

Whatever may be determined respecting the Etymology of this word, or the time of its introduction,

Hector Boece, in his History and Croniklis of Scotland, when speaking of English Money, invariably calls it Striuelynge. See folios 193, b. 195. 200, b. 217, b. 230, b.

STEORE, A RULE OR STANDARD.

Somner's Glossary to Twysden's Decem Scriptores; with whom Wise inclines to agree, Num. in Scrin. Bodleian. recon. Catalogus, p. 229.

Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, in the Glossary.

Pegge's Assemblage of Coins by Archbishops of Canterbury, p. 78.

STEOR, STANDARD, AND ALL OR ALLINE, NOBLE, THE NOBLE OR ROYAL STANDARD. Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, p. 12.

[But if the Etymology of this word must be carried back to the Saxon times, that is, to a period when there is no evidence to prove that the thing itself was known, why may it not be derived from *Carcepn* Eastern, and *Lang*, an adjunct which denotes the peculiar state of the word of which it forms the termination? Easternling then would be something peculiarly of Eastern origin.]

ΣΤΕΠΕΟΣ. SOLIDUS, i. e. INTEGER ET PERFECTUS.

Junii Etymologicon Anglicanum.

ESTERLINGS.

Sir Thomas Lake,	Hearne's Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 10.
Francis Thynn,	Id. p. 13.
James Ley,	Id. p. 15.
Arthur Agarde,	Id. vol. II. p. 317.
William Pattin,	Id. ibid.
— Broughton,	Id. p. 318.
John Stowe,	Id. ibid.
Thomas Talbot,	Id. pp. 320 and 379.
Henry Burchyer,	Id. p. 321.

it is undoubted that it was in use all over the Continent of Europe for the purpose of peculiarly design-

Camden's Remains, article Money.

Skinner, Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ.

Lye's Additions to Junius, from Skinner.

Spelman's Glossary; but doubtfully, on account of Sterilensis, which occurs in Ordericus Vitalis.

[I question, however, whether Sterilensis and Sterlingus are to be considered as equivalent terms; because in Ordericus Vitalis, Moneta Anglica and Libræ Sterilensium occur in the same passage as things distinct (p. 495). I have not met with the word in any other Historian, nor indeed in any other Author, excepting as a quotation from Ordericus.]

Cowel's Law Dictionary.

Clarke's Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, p. 80.

[He does not, however, entirely agree with the Authors referred to before him, for he considers Libra Esterlingorum to mean the Pound Easterling, in contradistinction to Libra Occidua, the Pound Westerling.]

As the date of the Introduction of this word has been nearly as much the object of controversy as its Etymology has been, I subjoin the opinions of various Authors:

Brought in by the Saxons. [Clarke's Connexion, p. 80.]

A. D. 855,—860, by Osbright at Sterling. [Harrison in Holinshed, p. 43; but denied by Holinshed, p. 186.]

A. D. 928. not improbably. [Pegge's Assemblage, p. 78.]

William I. soon after his time. [Lowndes's Report, p. 16.]

Stephen, or Henry II. and not before. [Talbot, Hearne's Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 380.]

As old as 33 Henry II. [Ley, Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 16.]

Richard I. [Belleforest, as quoted by Thynn, Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 13.]

Before the reign of John. [Heneage, Curious Discourses, II. 321.]

In Henry III.'s time, or before. [Tate, Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 315.]

Henry III. [Polydore Vergil, Lib. XVI.]

Edward I. on account of Coins struck by him at Sterling. [Holland, Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 319.]

nating the Money of England; and it is a striking circumstance in the History of our Coinage, that the fineness of the Silver Money, which was expressed by it, has preserved its integrity unbroken from the reign of Henry II. (at the lowest calculation) down to the present time — a period of more than 600 years!^k

In the earliest times the Silver Coins were professedly equal in weight and in tale. I say professedly, because, either from the irregularity of their division, or more probably from design, as it was too nearly general to be imputable to accident, they very rarely reached to the counterpoise of a Penny-weight. At that professed Standard, however, they continued for more than 200 years from the Norman Conquest, that is, until the 28th year of Edward I. From that time until the 43d of Elizabeth, a period of full 300 years, the legal weight of the Coins was progressively diminished; and yet, notwithstanding the variations in the price of Bullion which have taken place since the conclusion of her reign, the weight continued stationary for more than 200 years; that is, until the 55th year of the present reign.

When the Gold Coin was first introduced into our Mints by Henry III. the metal was of 24 Ca-

^k From this must be deducted about twenty years, from the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. to the beginning of Elizabeth's; which form an era highly disgraceful to the Mint.

This Standard was, by Statute 7 and 8 William III. Chap. 1, declared to be the lawful standard of the Kingdom. The variations from it, in the Coins which were struck solely for the use of Ireland, may be seen by referring to the Index.

rats¹ fine, that is, pure Gold. It remained so until the 18th of Edward III. when a different Standard of 23 Carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ Grains fine Gold and half a Grain alloy was used.

This was debased by Henry VIII. as low as 20 Carats. He likewise coined Crowns of Gold at 22 Carats; a standard which, from that circumstance, took the name of Crown Gold, and which, in the reign of Charles II. was made, what it has still continued to be, the sole standard of the Gold Coins.

The following Tables will shew the variations of the Standard both of Silver and of Gold.

¹ The Carat is a Bean, the fruit of an Abyssinian tree called Kuara. This Bean, from the time of its being gathered, varies very little in its weight, and seems to have been, in the earliest ages, a weight for Gold in Africa. In India it is used as a weight for Diamonds, &c. Bruce's Travels, vol. V. p. 66.

A TABLE of the STANDARD FINENESS of SILVER MONEY; Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Coins Sterling, except in a few Instances, whose Standard is unknown.

REIGN.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		SCOTLAND.	
	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.
11 John			11 2	0 18		
28 Edward I.....	11 2	0 18				
9 Edward III....			10 0	2 0		
18	11 2	0 18				
19	11 2	0 18				
20, 23	11 2	0 18				
27	11 2	0 18				
30	11 2	0 18				
9 Richard II.....			11 2	0 18		
18	11 2	0 18				
3 Henry IV.	11 2	0 18				
9 Henry V.....	11 2	0 18				
1 Henry VI.	11 2	0 18				
4	11 2	0 18				
24	11 2	0 18				
49	11 2	0 18				
4 Edward IV....	11 2	0 18				
5	11 2	0 18				
7	11 2	0 18				
8	11 2	0 18				
11	11 2	0 18				
12			11 2	0 18		
16	11 2	0 18				
18			11 2	0 18		
22	11 2	0 18				
1 Richard III. ...	11 2	0 18	11 2	0 18		
19 Henry VII....	11 2	0 18				
29	11 2	0 18				
18 Henry VIII. ...	11 2	0 18				
23	11 2	0 18				
33			9 6	2 14		
34	10 0	2 0				
36	6 0	6 0	8 0	4 0		
37	4 0	8 0				
1 Edward VI. ...	4 0	8 0				
2	4 0	8 0				
3	6 0	6 0				
4	3 0	9 0	4 0	8 0		
5	3 0	9 0				
6	11 1	0 19				
7			3 0	9 0		
1 Mary	11 1	0 19	4 0	8 0		
2 & 3 Phil. & Mar.			3 0	9 0		
3 and 4			3 0	9 0		
1 Elizabeth.....	11 2	0 18	3 0	9 0		
2	11 2	0 18	11 2	0 18		
19	11 2	0 18				
25	11 2	0 18				
40			3 0	9 0		
43	11 2	0 18	2 18	9 2		
1 James I.....	11 2	0 18	9 0	3 0	11 2	0 18
10 Charles I.			11 2	0 18		

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

For the Irish Standard, 36 H. VIII. Simon, p. 34, copies Leake, who at p. 210 gives the above proportion for Ireland, and says it was one ounce coarser than the English of the same year. But the English was then, as is stated above, only six ounces fine. I therefore suspect that the whole statement is incorrect, and that for eight ounces fine we should read four, according to the Standard of the English Coins, as they were reduced in the next year.

The Standard 7 E. VI. is from an Indenture dated June 11. As this was a few days only before the King's death, it probably was never acted upon in his time. Folkes, p. 48, note.

A TABLE of the STANDARD FINENESS of GOLD MONEY.

REIGN.	Fine. Car.Gr.	Alloy. Car.Gr.	Fine. Car.Gr.	Alloy. Car.Gr.	Fine. Car.Gr.	Alloy. Car.Gr.	Fine. Car.Gr.	Alloy. Car.Gr.
Henry III. 41.	Fine G.							
Edward III. 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30 ..								
Richard II. 18....								
Henry IV. 3, 13 ..								
Henry V. 9.....								
Henry VI. 1, 4, 24, 49.....	23	3½	0	0½				
Edward IV. 4, 5, 8*, 11, 16, 23 ..								
Richard III. 1....								
Henry VII. 19, 29								
Henry VIII. 18...					22	0	2	0
22 & 23.....	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
34.....			23	0	1	0		
36.....					22	0	2	0
37.....							20	0
Edward VI. 1 and 2							20	0
3								4 0
4	23	3½	0	0½				
6	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
Mary I.....	23	3½	0	0½				
Elizabeth I & 2....	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
19, 25, 26	23	3½	0	0½				
27, 35.....					22	0	2	0
43	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
James I & 2	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
3	23	3½	0	0½				
10.....	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
17.....	23	3½	0	0½				
29.....	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
Charles I. 2 & 12...	23	3½	0	0½	22	0	2	0
Charles II.					22	0	2	0

The Anglo-Scottish Gold Coins are all of 22 Carats fine.

Gold was never coined for the use of Ireland exclusively.

* According to Lowndes, the Gold Coins of Edward IV. were of the fineness here given; but the Indenture of that year in *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 167, states it at 23 Carats 3 Grains only.

30 RELATIVE VALUE OF GOLD AND SILVER.

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	PROPORTION.
	Fine. Alloy. car. gr. gr.	Fine. Alloy. oz. dwt. dwt.	
James I. 17			1 to $13\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{4}$ Old Standard ^f . 1 to $13\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}$ New Standard; making a further rise of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{3}{4} \text{ Old Standard.} \\ 1\frac{0}{11} \text{ New Standard.} \end{array} \right.$
	Fine. Alloy. car. car.		
Charles II. 15	22	2	1 to $14\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}$ New Standard ^f ; a rise of $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; making, from the acces- sion of James I. in a space of sixty years, a rise in the value of Gold of $32\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.
William and Mary, no date			1 to $15\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ h.
George I. 3 -			1 to $15\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ f.
18 -			1 to $15\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ f.; a rise of 5 per cent. The whole rise from 1 James I. that is, a space of 115 years, was $39\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

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[Vol. I.]

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TABLE of the different DENOMINATIONS of SILVER COINS,
with their respective WEIGHTS in TROY GRAINS.

STANDARD.

33

REIGN.	Far-thing.	Half-penny.	Three Far-thing.	Penny.	Three Half-pence.	Half Groat.	Quarter Shilling.	Groat.	Half Shilling.	Shilling.	Half Crown.	Crown.	Ten Shillings.	Twenty Shillings.
Edward the Elder ..	—	Actual Weight.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Conquest.....1066	—	9	—	22½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28 Edward I...1300	5½	11	—	22	—	88½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Edward III. 1344	5	10	—	20½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 ——— 1346	5	10	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25 ——— 1351	4½	9	—	18	—	72	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13 Henry IV...1412	3½	7½	—	15	—	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Edward IV. 1464	3	6	—	12	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
49 Henry VI...1470	3	6	—	12	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
after his restoration	3	6	—	12	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Henry VII.* 1504	3	6	—	12	—	48	—	48½	—	144	—	—	—	—
18 Henry VIII 1527	2½	5	—	10½	—	21½	—	40	—	130	—	—	—	—
34 ——— 1543	2½	5	—	10	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36 ——— 1545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Edward VI. 1547	2½	5	—	10	—	20	—	40	—	120	—	—	—	—
3 ——— 1549	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 ——— 1552	5½	11	—	8	—	—	24	—	48	80	—	—	—	—
1 Mary 1553	6	12	—	8	—	32	—	—	—	96	240	480	—	—
2 Elizabeth ..1560	—	4	—	8	—	16	24	32	48	96	240	480	—	—
3 ——— 1561	—	—	6	8	12	16	24	32	48	—	—	—	—	—
48 ——— 1601	—	3½	—	7½	—	15½	22½	31	46½	92½	232½	464½	—	—
17 Charles I. ..1642	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	929	1858
56 George III...1816	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40.3656	80.7372	160.4712	320.9424	—	—

* Camden, in his Remains, article Money, says, "King Henry VII. stamped a small Coin called Dandyrate."

A TABLE of the different DENOMINATIONS of COPPER and TIN COINS, with their respective WEIGHTS in TROY GRAINS.

REIGN.	Denomination.	Weight.		Pound coined into	
		lb. oz.	dwt. gr.	℥. s. d.	
James I. - 11	Farthing Token	0 0 0	61	4 3	Snelling, p. 8.
Charles I. - 10	The same				
Charles II. 24	Halfpenny				
— - 32	Farthing				
— - 32	Halfpenny	0 0	4 23		Leake, p. 375.
— - 35	Halfpenny	0 0	4 13		Leake, p. 375.
— Tin 36	Farthing			0 1 8	Snelling, p. 37.
James II.					
— Tin 1	Farthing				Snelling, p. 37.
— Tin 3	Halfpenny				Snelling, p. 37.
William & Mary					
— Tin 3	Halfpenny			0 1 9	Snelling, p. 38.
— Tin 6	Farthing			0 1 9	Snelling, p. 43.
Anne - 13	Halfpenny			0 2 4	Snelling, p. 44.
George I. 3	Farthing				
Wood's { 9	Halfpenny	from 120 gr.		0 2 6	Simon, p. 71.
Money {	Farthing	to 107.5			
George II. 2	Halfpenny			0 1 11	Snelling, p. 44.
— { 10	Farthing				
Irish {	Halfpenny	0 0	5 14	0 2 2	Simon, p. 73.
George III. 10	Farthing				
— 37	Two Penny	0 2 0 0		0 1 4	Proclamation.
— 40	One Penny	0 1 0 0		0 1 6	Proclamation.
— 46	Halfpenny			0 2 0	Proclamation.
	Farthing				

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MINT.

Of the manner in which the Britons conducted the Coinage of their rude substitutes for Money, no notices can now be recovered. Few regulations indeed would be required, where an equality of weight appears, from Cæsar's account, to have been the sole object in view.

If the Romans did actually coin in Britain, there can be no doubt but that their Mints were worked by the same Officers as were employed in other parts of their Dominions; but no documents have at present been produced in proof of it: nor is any thing known respecting the Mints of the British Kings after the departure of the Romans.

On the early Anglo-Saxon Coins are found, besides the names of the Monarchs, those of other persons, who are with great probability conjectured to have been the Moneyers; because on the later Anglo-Saxon Money the names of those officers frequently occur, with the addition of their title of office.

From the circumstance of their names being inscribed on the Coins, it is reasonable to conclude, that they were responsible for the integrity of the Money; and likewise, that they were the principal Officers of the Mint, because inferior Officers would have given security to their superiors, whose names would have appeared on the Money as a pledge to the Sovereign that it was duly executed. The silence also of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, and of Domesday Book, as to other Officers of the Mint, whilst

they so frequently mention the Moneyers, greatly corroborates the opinion that they were the only persons employed in the Anglo-Saxon, and early Anglo-Norman, Mints, except perhaps occasional labourers. And it is observable, that, when in the reign of Henry I. the Money was so much corrupted as to call for a sentence of most exemplary severity on the offenders, the punishment is said to have been inflicted upon Moneyers only, without the least notice of any other Officer. This was also the case upon a similar occasion in the reign of Henry II.^a

It should seem, however, that the Reeve had, in the Anglo-Saxon times, some kind of connection with the Mint, or jurisdiction over it; for in the Laws of Cnut it is provided, that if any person accused of false Coinage should plead that he did it by license from the Reeve, that Officer should clear himself by the triple Ordeal. If he failed to do this, he was to suffer the same punishment as the falsifier himself; which, in the same chapter of the Law, is said to be the loss of that hand by which the crime was committed, without any redemption either by Gold or Silver^o.

As it would scarcely be possible for the Reeve to prove the falsity of such an accusation, it seems probable that his situation with respect to the Mint was such as to make it his duty to superintend the operations of it, and to prevent all clandestine practices. Indeed I suspect that, in this instance, *Lepera* does not mean (as it has generally been un-

^a A more full account of the Moneyers will be given under that head in the List of Officers.

^o Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134, cap. 8.

derstood to do) the Chief Magistrate of the Town, but the Principal Officer of the Mint ; for this, however, I have no other authority to produce than the tendency of the above-recited extract from Cnut's Laws.

After the Norman Conquest the Officers of the Mint appear to have been, in some degree, under the authority of the Court of Exchequer, as they were admitted to their respective stations in that Court, and took before the Treasurer and Barons the usual oaths of office.

The amount also of the Bullion which was brought into the Mint by Merchants, who were bound to deliver a certain quantity in proportion to the weight of various articles imported by them, was likewise returnable into the Court of Exchequer, in order that the Master might be charged with such Bullion in his account ^P.

If the Gerefa, above-mentioned, were not the Presiding Officer of the Anglo-Saxon Mints, I am unable to ascertain at what period it became necessary to place some permanent superintending authority in the Mint, to prevent the ill practices of the Moneyers ; but it is probable that such an Officer was appointed between the 26th year of Henry II., when the Moneyers alone were punished for the adulteration of the Money, and the third year of Richard I., when Henry de Cornhill accounted for the profits of the Cambium of all England, except Winchester ^q.

The Mint, however, did not attain its full constitution of superior officers until the 18th of Edward

^P Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 392, from Claus. 4 R. II. m. 39. ^q Madox, Hist. Exchequer, vol. II. p. 132.

II. when, as far as I have been able to discover, the Comptroller first appeared, and delivered in his Account, distinct from those of the Warden and Master, as theirs likewise were from each other. Thus they operated as mutual checks, and no fraud could be practised without the criminal concurrence of all those three persons.

One of the principal offices, namely, that of Cuneator, and probably others, descended by inheritance, even in the female line, and the inheritor was sometimes allowed to sell it ^r.

From a very early period the Moneyers seem to have enjoyed exclusive privileges. In the 33d year of Henry II. the Moneyers of York were expressly exempted from the payment of the Donum which was assessed upon the men of that City ^s.

In the 18th year of Henry III. the Mayor, &c. of the City of London were commanded not to infringe upon the liberties of the King's Moneyers of London, by exacting from them Tallages or other Customs contrary to their privileges ^t.

And before his 41st year those privileges appear to have been extended to the whole body of Officers belonging to the Mint; for at that time the Bailiffs, &c. of Canterbury were ordered to appear in the Exchequer, to receive judgment for having distrained upon the Officers of that Mint ^u.

The earliest Grant of these privileges, by Char-

^r Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 31. See the account of the Office of Cuneator.

^s Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 635. See York Mint.

^t Cl. 18 H. III. m. 30.

^u Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 748. See Canterbury Mint.

ter, was in the reign of Edward I. when the Officers of the Exchange, and of the Mint, were (by the names of the Keepers of the Changes of the City of London and Canterbury, the Labourers, or Workers, Moneymakers or Coiners, and other Ministers deputed or appointed unto those things which touch the Office of the Changes aforesaid) freed from all Tallages, and were not to be put into any Assizes, Juries, or Recognizance, and were to plead before the said Keepers of the Changes only, except in Pleas appertaining unto Freehold and the Crown.

These privileges were granted to them so long as they should continue in the above-mentioned offices; and were confirmed by Edward II. in his second year, with this addition, that they were to be quit of all manner of aids and contributions, as well as tallages, and, that if at any time they should, of their own proper will, grant any aid or contribution, such should be levied upon them by the Keepers of the Exchanges aforesaid, and that no other should intermeddle. The Keepers themselves were, in such case, to be taxed by the Barons of the Exchequer. Letters Patent to the same effect were issued by Edward III. Richard II. Edward IV. Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Philip and Mary^w. All these are referred to in the Charter of Incorporation which was granted by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign, but those of Edward I. and Edward II. alone are given at length.

^w There were also Confirmations in the 1st of Henry IV. [Pat. pt. 5. m. 25]; 1 H. V. [Pat. m. 28]; 5 H. VI. [Pat. pt. 1. m. 17]; 18 H. VI. [Pat. pt. 3. m. 25]; 23 H. VI. [Mich. Commun. Rot. 17. Madox's MSS. No 69. p. 94.]

In that year her Majesty, at the humble suit of the Keeper of the Changes, the Labourers, Coiners, and Ministers, deputed or appointed to those things which do touch the Offices of the Change, and in consideration of certain general words in the former Grants, which had occasioned them and their Predecessors to be molested, inquieted, and vexed, and because they should be able more especially to apply themselves to the business of their office, was graciously pleased to grant and confirm to them the Letters Patent and Grants aforesaid.

And to remove all the doubts and ambiguities to which the former Grants were supposed to be liable, her Majesty incorporated them by the name of the Keeper of the Changes, and the Workmen, Coiners, and other Ministers, deputed to the said Office; to be from thenceforth one Body perpetual, and one Commonalty perpetual, in deed and in name, and to have perpetual succession; to be of capacity in law to purchase lands, &c. by that name^x, and to hold to them, and their Successors for ever; to implead and to be impleaded; to answer and to be answered in all Pleas, &c. in any Court; and to have a Common Seal^y.

^x I have not discovered that this Company at large did ever purchase lands, but it will be seen hereafter that the Moneyers actually did. See account of the Moneyers.

^y The Seal, which is used at this time, bears the impression of an antique castle, placed between the letters G. R. On the dexter side of the upper turrets is a shield with the Arms of England, and on the sinister side another shield, bearing, quarterly, in the first and fourth quarters the Arms of England and Scotland quarterly, in the second France, and in the third Ireland. Around the whole is this inscription: SIGIL: COR: CUS-

By this Charter all the Officers had privilege of not being put, against their will, in any Assizes, Juries, Inquisitions, Attaints, Grand Assizes, or Recognizance whatsoever, even although they touched the Crown. The Workmen, Coiners, and Ministers were to stand right before the Keeper of all manner of Pleas, Suits, Actions, and Complaints, touching themselves; Pleas to Freehold, and specially pertaining to the Crown, excepted. None of the Officers was to be made Mayor, Bailiff, Collector, Searcher, or Assessor of the Tenths, Fifteenths, Subsidies, Tallages, or other impositions to be granted, or any part of them, or any other Officer, or Minister of the Crown, against his will. And all of them were to be quit and exonerate for ever, in the City of London, Town of Calais, and all other Cities and Towns, from all and singular Assizes, Lones, of and for wine, ale, beer, and all victuals whatsoever, to be made, and from all Tallages, Aids, Gifts, Contributions, Fifteenths, Tenths, Scots, Subsidies, and all other impositions to the Queen, or to her Progenitors, late Kings of England, granted or to be granted; and none of them to be distrained or molested in their lands, &c. for any of the premises, but to have due allowance and discharge of

TODIS CAMB: OPERAT: ET ALIORVM MINIST. This Seal is evidently a copy from one of a more antient date, but I have not been able to trace it further back than the reign of Queen Anne. The peculiar bearing of the first quartering in the second shield, where England and Scotland are placed quarterly, is, I believe, unknown in any other instance; at least it has hitherto escaped the researches of my friends in the College of Arms.

Besides this Seal the Mint has a smaller one, with a representation of the White Tower, and over it MINT OFFICE. Both these are engraven on one corner of the Numismatick Map.

such Tallages, &c. before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer for ever; and no corn, hay, horse grain, ploughs, carriages, sheep, hogs, pigs, carts, oxen, poultry, or other merchandise, things, goods, victuals, and chattels of whatsoever kind, to be taken from them by any Purveyor of the Queen, or her Heirs, any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding. This Charter bore date at Westminster on the 20th of February; and there were subsequent Confirmations of it in the second, third, fourth, and fifth years of her reign ^z.

It should seem, however, that these privileges were sometimes intrenched upon, even by the Monarch who granted them. In the 22d year of Edward IV. when the King, in order to relieve his poor subjects from the continual taking of their goods for the expenses of his household, for which they were not sufficiently paid, ordained that certain sums should be taken yearly, for that purpose, from the Customs, &c.; the Warden of the Mint was charged with 100 Marks ^a. And the same in 1485, the first year of King Henry VII. ^b

^z Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 29. The Witnesses to this Charter were persons of the highest rank:

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

The Earl of Exeter, Chancellor.

The Bishop of Ely.

The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

The Earl of Warwick, Chamberlain of England.

The Earl of Essex, Treasurer.

Sir William Hastings, Chamberlain of the Household.

Sir Humphrey Suthwyke, Kt.

Mr. Robert Styllintone, Keeper of the Privy Seal.

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. VI. p. 199.

^b Id. p. 299.

They were likewise exposed to particular attacks from the Corporation of the City of London.

In the year 1536 Mr. Martin Bowes had three years respite granted to him from the charge of the office of Sheriff of that City^c; and it will be seen hereafter [in the 21st of Elizabeth] that this was drawn into a precedent.

In the year 1575 a Petition appears, in which the Officers of the Mint pray the Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons of the Exchequer, for relief from the payment of a fifteenth, &c. which had been granted to the Queen in Parliament. As the ground of this prayer, they state the Charters of Edward II. and of Elizabeth. The Petition is signed by all the Officers, and is given under their Common Seal^d.

But it should seem that this Representation was passed by without notice, for about two years afterward several of the Officers were charged with the second part of the Subsidy which had been granted by the last Parliament; and another Petition was accordingly presented, begging relief according to the tenor of the Charters. This, it is remarkable, was not signed by all the Officers, nor sealed with the Common Seal, but had the signature of the Warden, and his seal only^e.

In the same year the privilege of exemption from public offices was attempted to be infringed by the Court of Aldermen of London, who nominated the Warden one of the Sheriffs. Of this he complained to the Privy Council, and prayed to be relieved from

^c Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 210.

^d Id. p. 120. The Seal does not, of course, appear in this MS.

^e Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 196.

a duty which was incompatible with his station in the Mint. The Privy Council, by the Queen's command, directed the Aldermen to release him from that appointment, on the ground that he was exempted from such offices by the privileges which had been granted by her Progenitors, and confirmed by herself ^f.

This was upon the 3d of August; but from a letter which bears date the 7th of that month it appears, that on account of some particular circumstances, the Warden was induced to wave his privilege, and to promise to accept the office of Sheriff, provided those who were nominated should refuse to serve. But after this promise the Warden informed Lord Burleigh, in a letter dated upon the 13th of the same month, that in consequence of the directions which had been given by the Privy Council to the Mayor and Aldermen, he had obtained what he desired, according to the form of her Majesty's Letters Patent ^g.

Here it might be supposed that the matter would have rested, and that the City would not have dared to act again in opposition to a Royal Charter. It is, however, certain, that another attempt was made to establish the right of the Corporation to nominate the Warden of the Mint to the office of Sheriff, for, on the 14th of August in the year immediately following, that is, in the 21st of Elizabeth, the Court of Aldermen agreed to grant to Mr. Richard Martin three years respite from the charge of the office of Sheriff, the same indulgence having been granted to Mr. Martin Bowes in the 28th year of Henry VIII.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698, p. 200.

^g Id. p. 202.

This agreement was confirmed by a Common Council on the 12th of February following^h.

These two entries seem to prove that the Corporation of London carried, at that time, their point against the Warden, whose duty it unquestionably was not to have accepted such indulgence, but to have opposed to it the exemption to which he was entitled by Charter. Why he neglected to avail himself of his privilege cannot now be determined; but it is evident that he did not plead it, for if he had, he would not have failed to state that circumstance in his account of the transaction, when he recited the two entries of the proceedings of the Corporation, which are still extant in his handwritingⁱ.

The Charter of Privileges was again confirmed by James I. in the second year of his reign.

On the 19th of September 1642, the Company of Moneyers in the Mint in the Tower of London petitioned that an order might be given for the stay of any Levy upon them for the Bill of £.400,000. This was referred to a Committee; and the Levy on them was ordered to be suspended for the present. At the same time a Committee of five was appointed to consider of the Petition, and to think of some way for their relief, in such manner as that the said Bill should not be dispensed with^k.

On a further Petition from the same, on the 21st of December, their horses were ordered to be secured to them^l.

^h Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 210.

ⁱ Harl. MSS. No 698; which is a volume of Papers relating to Mint affairs, collected by Richard Martin.

^k Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 772.

^l Id. p. 898.

On the 27th of April 1644, it was ordered by the Parliament, that the Officers, Ministers, Moneyers, and Labourers of the Mint, who were actually employed there, and whose names should be certified under the hand of Sir Robert Harley [then Master], should be exempted, as to their persons, from implest upon any occasion whatsoever; and that the Warrant, under Mr. Speaker's hand, for their exemption, should be allowed by the House, and stand good.

It was also ordered, that the Committee concerning the Mint should meet, and suddenly make a Report ^m.

It does not, however, appear that it was ever made; but on the 26th of June Sir Robert Harley was ordered to prepare, and bring in, an Ordinance for confirming such privileges to the Working Moneyers as the two Houses should think fit ⁿ.

This seems not to have produced any thing decisive, for on the 18th of October a Petition from the Company of Moneyers in the Tower of London, desiring the enjoyment of their privileges, which had for many hundreds of years been granted to them, was read, and referred to a Committee of twenty-four, together with all the Lawyers of the House, to inquire into the privileges which were claimed by the Officers and Moneyers; and to consider what privileges would be fit to be allowed for their encouragement; and to make their Report upon the whole matter ^o.

Upon the next day it was ordered, that all the

^m Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 470.

ⁿ Id. p. 543.

^o Id. p. 668.

Merchants of the House should be added to the Committee which had been appointed, upon the preceding day, for the Moneyers of the Mint. And it was further ordered, that the examination and inquiry into the misdemeanors and miscarriages of the Mint, and the Officers thereof (which were already under the examination of the Committee of the Revenue) should be continued, and referred to the consideration of that Committee^p.

I have not been able to discover whether this Committee ever delivered in any Report, or whether further proceedings, of any kind, took place; nor have I met with any thing further relating to the privileges of the Officers of the Mint, until the 14th year of Charles II. when the Charter of Elizabeth was again confirmed; as it was also by the Indenture which was in force in the year 1744, and which established the Officers in their Houses, Places, &c. and in their Charters and Privileges. It likewise ordained that they should have free gress and egress, without any let from any Officer of the Tower; and the bringers of Gold and Silver to the Mint were to have the same^q.

These privileges they continue to enjoy unto this day.

To counterbalance, in some degree, these advantages, it appears that in antient times, such for instance as the reign of Edward III. they could not leave the kingdom without special license^r.

Soon after the date of their Charter of Incorpora-

^p Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 670.

^q Pollet's Abstract of the Indenture, which was in force in 1744. MS.

^r Claus. 3 E. III. m. 9. dors.

tion by Elizabeth, which gave to them a Common Seal, it seems to have been intended to add the privilege of bearing Arms. For this purpose a **Draft** of a Grant was made, in the second year of that Queen, by William Hervey, Clarencieux, but the Grant was never compleated.

The Arms, as emblazoned in the Draft, were —
 Ar. a Cross Azure charged with a Bezant in the centre between two Harts' heads erased Or, above and below, and on each side a Bull's head erased Argent, horned Or; in each of the two upper quarters of the Cross a Fleur de lis Azure, in the lower ones a Castle Sable. On a Chief Gules a Lion passant regardant Or, between two Cross Croslets fitchée Argent.

The form of the Grant was, to "thole comunalty, felowshipe and mynysters of the Mynt.—By what name so ever they be at this present nomynated and called, or by what name they maye hereafter be nomynated and callyd, and to their successors for evermore. To use, beare, and shewe, in shilde, sealle, banner or banners, stander or standers, pencell or pencells, at all tymes hereafter, without impediment, lett, or interruption of any person or persons." ^s

No such Arms, nor indeed any other, are borne by the incorporated Officers of the Mint.

^s Hervey's Grants, in the College of Arms, folio 77. This Grant is indorsed, in a coëval hand, xxvij of November, a^o 2^o Elizabeth.

OF THE WAGES OF THE OFFICERS.

The following slight notices are all that I have been able to gather, upon this subject, from the Records of early times.

In the 35th year of Henry III. the Warden's salary was two shillings a day^t.

In the 33d year of Edward I. the Porter of the Mint and Exchange received nine pence a day; and the same in the 9th of Edward II. and the 23d of Edward III.

The Warden's salary in the 23d year was as before, two shillings a day; at which time his Clerk received nine pence, and the Keeper of the Dies six pence a day^u.

In the 25th and 31st years of Henry VI. it was two shillings and six pence; but I have not discovered when the rise took place.

In his 32d year the Engraver had twenty pounds *per annum*.

The person who held the offices of Comptroller, Exchanger, and Assayer in the first year of Edward IV. was to take the usual daily wages, amounting to 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*.

In the second year of the same King the Engraver's wages were, as before, twenty pounds *per annum*.

^t See the account of the Mint in the Tower of London.

^u These wages are stated in the Return to a Writ of Inquiry which was instituted in the 34th year of Henry VI. [Bundle in the Tower, unclassified.]

And in his sixth year the salary of the Warden's Clerk was nine pence a day ^x.

In the tenth year of Edward III. the Workmen of the Mint of London petitioned the King for an increase of their allowance for Coinage; alledging that they were at that time at greater expense, and bestowed more labour, in forming the Monies, than had been usual in former times, so that they could not maintain and continue such expense and labour unless their allowance was increased.

The King, being willing to grant their Petition if just, commanded John de Wyndesore, Warden of the Mints of London and Canterbury, together with Lapine Roger, and others experienced in such matters, to inquire whether the allowance were sufficient, and if not, to determine what addition should be made; and they were ordered to make their Report in Chancery, under their seals, without delay ^y.

A Warrant was in consequence issued, and Lapine Roger, and Roger Rikeman, Exchangers of London, and Stephen Boke, having been examined on oath by the Warden, the following Report was made:—That, having inquired diligently respecting the necessary expenses of the Master of the Mint and the Workmen, *viz.* of Alloy, Clay, and Salt, and other things used in the making of new Money, and also of the expenses occasioned by the waste arising from the whitening of the Halfpennies and Farthings, on account of the increase of the Alloy, and from the hardening of the metal of the said

^x See London Mint.

^y Claus. 10 E. III. m. 19. dors. Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 448.

Coins in working and coining, they were of opinion that the work could not be carried on without an increase of three Pence for each Pound, at the least, and with that the Workmen ought reasonably to be contented. Then, whereas of old they received for all costs, colour, &c. for a Pound of Halspennies seven Pence Halspenny, and for a Pound of Farthings nine Pence Halspenny, they would receive for the former ten Pence Halspenny, and for the latter twelve Pence Halspenny, so that the Master should have of increase two Pence, and the Workmen one Penny^a.

The following Tables of Fees and Wages for the several Officers in the years 1584, 1599, 1649, 1689, 1739, 1743, and 1797, will shew the progressive increase of them.

A TABLE of FEES about 1584^a.

	£.	s.	d.
Master or Tresurer - - - - -	100	0	0
Comptroller - - - - -	66	13	4
Assay Master - - - - -	66	13	4
Auditors - - - - -	44	6	8
Allowance for Paper and Parchment -	10	0	0
Tellers of Monies ^b , Fee apiece - - -	33	6	8

^a Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. The Report is entitled—*Informatio super augmentationem mercedis Monetariorum*. The Warrant bears date June 1, 10 E. III.

^a Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 11. See also a Collection of Ordinances, &c. for the Government of the Royal Household, p. 255.

^b William Wightman, Teller, 1584. MS. Knight. Peck.

	£.	s.	d.
Surveyors of the Melting House, Fee			
apiece - - - - -	26	13	4
Clerk of the Irons - - - - -	13	6	8
Clerk of the Mint - - - - -	10	0	0
Chief Graver - - - - -	30	0	0
Chief Finer - - - - -	10	0	0
Melters 3, Fee apiece - - - - -	13	6	8
Sinker of Irons - - - - -	10	0	0
Branchars [Qu. Blanchers?] 2, Fee apiece	13	6	8
Purveyor - - - - -	10	0	0
Potmaker - - - - -	10	0	0
Porter - - - - -	10	0	0
Diet to all the foresaid Officers of the			
Mint, weekly - - - - -	1	10	0

A TABLE of FEES and SALARIES, 1599^c.

	£.	s.	d.
Warden - - - - -	100	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	20	0	0
Comptroller - - - - -	66	13	4
Clerk - - - - -	13	6	8
Assay Master - - - - -	66	13	4
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Weigher and Teller - - - - -	33	6	8
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Surveyor of the Meltings - - - - -	26	13	4
Clerk of the Irons - - - - -	13	6	8
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Chief Clerk - - - - -	20	0	0
Clerk of the Papers - - - - -	20	0	0

^c Snelling's View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, p. 53, from Goldsmith's Store House, p. 75, MS.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MINT.

53

	£.	s.	d.
Two Auditors - - - - -	20	0	0
Smith of the Mint. - - - - -	10	0	0
Porter - - - - -	10	0	0
Chaplain - - - - -	0	13	4
Sexton - - - - -	0	4	0
Assay Master - - - - -	40	0	0
Purveyor - - - - -	20	0	0
Chief Engraver - - - - -	30	0	0
Second Ditto - - - - -	40	0	0
Assistant to Engravers - - - - -	20	0	0

TABLE of FEES and DIET, 1649^d.

Warden, by the year - - - - -	100	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	20	0	0
Comptroller - - - - -	66	13	4
Clerk - - - - -	13	6	8
Assay Masters, number not specified -	66	13	4
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Two Auditors. To each for his Clerk 10 <i>l.</i> and to each for Parchment, Ink, Paper, and other necessities, 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> - - - - -	40	0	0
Tellers. No number mentioned - -	33	6	8
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Clerk of the Irons - - - - -	13	6	8
Surveyor of the Melting House - - -	26	13	4
Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Grayer of the Irons - - - - -	30	0	0
Under Assayer - - - - -	40	0	0
Under Graver - - - - -	40	0	0

^d Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 251. See Annals under this year.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sinkers of the Irons. No number - -	20	0	0
Smith - - - - -	10	0	0
Porter - - - - -	10	0	0
Parson of the Chapel in the Tower, for his Tythes - - - - -	0	13	4
Sexton - - - - -	0	4	4
For the Diet of the Officers - - - -	52	0	0
Two Clerks, to be employed for the keeping of Books, and other services, by the direction of the Officers; to each 20 <i>l.</i> per annum - - - - -	40	0	0

**FEES and SALARIES payable to and by the
WARDEN, 1689^e.**

Warden - - - - -	400	0	0
For a Clerk - - - - -	40	0	0
Comptroller - - - - -	300	0	0
For a Clerk - - - - -	40	0	0
Their Majesties Assay Master - - -	200	0	0
For a Clerk - - - - -	20	0	0
Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of Irons	110	0	0
For a Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Weigher and Teller - - - - -	90	0	0
For a Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Assistant to the Weigher, &c. - - -	40	0	0
Chief Clerk and Clerk of the Papers -	100	0	0
Porter - - - - -	20	0	0
To the Minister - - - - -	4	0	0
Sexton - - - - -	1	0	0

Payable to and by the MASTER and WORKER.

	£.	s.	d.
Master, - - - - -	500	0	0
For three Clerks - - - - -	120	0	0
For an Assayer - - - - -	60	0	0
For a Purveyor - - - - -	20	0	0
Engineer - - - - -	100	0	0
Three Roettiers chief Engravers - -	325	0	0
The Smith Assistant to the Engravers	50	0	0

A TABLE of FEES and SALARIES, 1739^f.

Warden - - - - -	400	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	50	0	0
Comptroller - - - - -	300	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	50	0	0
Assay Master - - - - -	200	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	25	0	0
Weigher and Teller - - - - -	120	0	0
Clerk - - - - -	12	10	0
Surveyor of the Meltings - - - - }	132	10	0
Clerk of the Irons - - - - }			
Clerk - - - - }			
Chief Clerk - - - - -	60	0	0
Clerk of the Papers - - - - -	40	0	0
Two Auditors - - - - -	40	0	0
Porter - - - - -	25	0	0
Chaplain - - - - -	4	0	0
Sexton - - - - -	1	0	0

^f Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

1743.^g

	£.	s.	d.
Master - - - - -	500	0	0
Three Clerks - - - - -	150	0	0
Assay Master - - - - -	60	0	0
Purveyor - - - - -	25	0	0
Chief Engraver - - - - -	200	0	0
Second Ditto - - - - -	80	0	0
Third Ditto - - - - -	80	0	0
Assistant to Engravers - - - - -	40	0	0
Provost of Moneyers' as Engineer - - -	100	0	0
Clerk to the Warden - - - - -	100	0	0
Surveyor of Money Presses - - - - -	40	0	0
Nine Moneyers $\frac{1}{4}$ of a year at 25 <i>l.</i> and $\frac{1}{4}$ at 40 <i>l.</i> - - - - -	326	0	0

A SCHEDULE or TABLE of the FEES and SALARIES
of the OFFICE of HIS MAJESTY'S MINT, within
the TOWER of LONDON, payable to and by the
WARDEN, 1797^h.

To the Warden for himself - - - - -	400	0	0
To him for a Clerk - - - - -	50	0	0
To him for another Clerk - - - - -	100	0	0
To the Comptroller - - - - -	300	0	0
More to him for a Clerk - - - - -	25	0	0
To the Weigher and Teller - - - - -	130	0	0
More to him for a Clerk - - - - -	12	10	0
To the Surveyor of the Meltings - - -	80	0	0
More to him for a Clerk - - - - -	12	10	0
To the Clerk of the Irons - - - - -	40	0	0

^g Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

^h Twenty-fourth Report of Select Committee in Finance 1797,
Supp. B.

	£.	s.	d.
To the Auditors of the Mint - - -	40	0	9
To His Majesty's Chief Clerk - - -	60	0	0
To the Porter of the Mint - - - -	45	0	0
To the Clerk of the Papers - - - -	40	0	0
To the Minister - - - - -	4	0	0
To the Sexton - - - - -	1	0	0

Payable to and by the MASTER and WORKER.

To the Master for himself - - - -	500	0	0
To him for three Clerks - - - - -	150	0	0
To him for an Assayer - - - - -	100	0	0
To him for a Fireman to his Assayer -	25	0	0
To him for a Purveyor - - - - -	25	0	0
To him for the Smith Assistant to Engravers - - - - -	40	0	0
To him for a Surveyor of the Money Presses - - - - -	40	0	0
To him for an Office Keeper - - -	25	0	0
To the chief Engraver - - - - -	200	0	0
To the second Engraver - - - - -	80	0	0
To the assistant Engraver - - - -	80	0	0
To the Provost of the Moneyers exercising the office of Engineer, and keeping all the iron tools and utensils in repair - - - - -	100	0	0

The NET RECEIPTS for the several OFFICES were,
in 1797,

Warden - - - - -	374	6	8
Master - - - - -	4318	13	0
Comptroller - - - - -	297	0	0
King's Assay Master - - - - -	393	11	4

	£.	s.	d.
Weigher and Teller - - - - -	125	12	8
Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of Irons	123	0	0
King's Clerk and Clerk of the Papers -	99	0	8
Minister and Sexton of the Garrison for the time being - - - - -	4	5	0
Assay Master to the Master - - - - -	309	3	0
Chief Engraver - - - - -	166	13	4
Assistant Engraver - - - - -	80	0	0
Probationer Engraver - - - - -	70	13	4
Smith Assistant to Engravers - - - - -	206	15	7
Surveyor of Money Presses - - - - -	60	0	0
Purveyor - - - - -	45	0	0
Clerk to the Master - - - - -	66	0	0
Porter - - - - -	78	10	0
Office Keeper - - - - -	25	0	0
Clerk to the Warden - - - - -	100	0	0
Stamper of Weights - - - - -	237	10	0
Solicitor, by Salary - - - - -	63	0	0
Moneyers, Corporation of - - - - -	5839	16	6 ⁱ

By an Act which was passed on the 12th of July 1799 the Master's Salary was fixed at *£.3000 per annum*, in lieu of all Fees, &c. which he was accustomed to receive^j; and by an Indenture between the King, and the Right Hon. William Wellesley Pole, made on the 16th of August 1815, the following Salaries were fixed for the other Officers.

ⁱ Twenty-fourth Report of Select Committee on Finance, Supplement B.

^j Statute 39 G. III. chap. 94.

A SCHEDULE of SALARIES of the Officers of His
MAJESTY'S MINT. 1815.

	£.	s.	d.
To the Deputy Master, <i>per annum</i>	800	0	0
To the Master's first Clerk - - - -	100	0	0
To the Master's second Clerk - - - -	80	0	0
To the Master's Assayer - - - -	400	0	0
To the Fireman to the Master's Assayer	62	0	0
To the chief Engraver - - - -	500	0	0
To the second Engraver - - - -	200	0	0
To the Superintendant of Machinery and Clerk of the Irons - - - -	700	0	0
To each Member of the Company of Moneyers, when the whole Coinage of Gold and Silver Monies in the Mint in one year shall not amount to 500,000 <i>l.</i> - - - -	40	0	0
To the Warden - - - -	434	2	0
To his Clerk - - - -	70	2	0
To his other Clerk - - - -	92	10	0
To the King's Assayer - - - -	900	0	0
To the Comptroller (as at present), but to be increased to 600 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> upon the death or retirement of the present Comptroller - - - -	289	10	6
To the Deputy Comptroller, (this Offi- cer to become principal at the same Salary upon the death or retirement of the present Comptroller, and no Deputy to be afterwards appointed,) <i>per annum</i> - - - -	600	0	0
To the King's Clerk and Clerk of the Papers - - - -	400	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
To the Solicitor, in lieu of all charges whatever (except for money out of pocket) - - - - -	1200	0	0
To the Weigher and Teller - - - - -	200	0	0
To the Probationer Assayer - - - - -	200	0	0
To the Fireman to the King's Assayer	88	0	0
To the Surveyor of Meltings - - - - -	100	0	0
To the Surveyor of Money Presses - - - - -	100	0	0
To the Mint Porter - - - - -	70	0	0
To the Master's Porter - - - - -	52	0	0
To the Office Keeper - - - - -	25	0	0
To the Stamper of Money Weights - - - - -	250	0	0
To one Job-man, <i>per diem</i> - - - - -	0	3	6
To the Gate Porters, each <i>per diem</i> - - - - -	0	3	6
For sweeping the Premises, <i>per annum</i>	35	0	0
To the Minister of the Tower - - - - -	0	0	0
To the Sexton - - - - -	0	0	0
To each of the Officers aforesaid whose Salary shall amount to 400 <i>l.</i> or up- wards (except the Solicitor), after such Officer shall have been upon the establishment of the Mint for ten years, and the Master and Workers shall have certified his good conduct to the Commissioners of the Treasury, an addition, so long as such Officer shall continue on the establishment, of <i>per annum</i> - - - - -	20	0	0
And for every period of three years during which he shall continue on the establishment after ten years, a further addition of, <i>per annum</i> - - - - -	15	0	0

£. s. d.

To each of the Officers aforesaid whose

Salary shall amount to 100*l.* and not
amount to 400*l.* after such Officer, &c.

&c. &c. as above, *per annum* - - - 15 0 0

And for every period of three years, &c.

&c. as before, *per annum* - - - 10 0 0^k

In antient times extraordinary methods were resorted to in order to furnish the Mint with Workmen. Thus in the 31st year of Henry III. a Writ was issued authorizing Reynér de Brussell to bring into England, from beyond the seas, persons skilled in the coinage and exchange of Silver, to work in the Kingdom, at the King's charge^l.

And in the 25th year of Edward III. Henry de Brusele and John de Cicestre, Masters of the Mint, were appointed, by Letters Patent, to chuse and take as many Goldsmiths, Smiths, and other Workmen in the City of London, and other places, where it might seem expedient to them, as should be necessary for the Works of the Mint in the Tower of London; and to bring the said Workmen to the said Tower, and to place them there to work at the wages allowed by the said Masters. And any of them which should be rebellious in that case, to seize and arrest, and to detain in prison within the said Tower, and to keep in safe custody until the King should determine upon their punishment. These Letters were directed to all Sheriffs, &c. who were commanded to assist the said Masters in carrying their provisions into execution^m. This power

^k Indenture printed by order of Parliament, May 30, 1816.

^l Pat. 31 H. III. m. 3. ^m Pat. 25 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13. dors.

to take Workmen, &c. for the service of the Mint, was not discontinued in the reign of Elizabeth ⁿ.

I shall now give an account of the Duties of the respective Officers, from a MS. drawn up by Anthony Pollett, who was Clerk to the Comptroller in 1748, and died in the year 1754^o; inclosing with brackets such variations as occur in earlier times; and shall add a List of the Names as far as I have been able to collect them.

The WARDEN.

WHAT RELATES TO HIM DISTINCT FROM THE OTHER OFFICERS:

The Master shall pay to him for Salaries £.1470 *per annum*.

Whilst the King allows £.52 *per annum* towards the Diet of the Officers, it is to be paid by him.

He shall pay the Salaries in the Schedule annexed.

He shall yearly account before the Auditors, and shall be allowed Officer's Fees, Salaries, and Diet, Charges, Expense of Repairs of Houses and Offices, under the *Avowment* of the Master, Comptroller, and Assay Master, or any two of them; the Master to be one.

Shall be discharged by Letters Patent without fee.

When necessary shall make two Piles of Weights, one for England, and one for Scotland.

[In the reign of Elizabeth it was his duty to enter

ⁿ Indenture with Lonison 14 Eliz. Harl. MSS. 698; which says expressly that they are to work at the Queen's price.

^o Snelling's MS List of Officers.

in a Ledger Book the weight, price, and fineness of all the Bullion which should be brought from time to time into the Mint, with the names of the parties, and the day ^p.]

HIS DUTY CONJOINTLY WITH OTHER OFFICERS.

WARDEN and MASTER.

[In the time of Elizabeth, after the Bullion was received, and the Assays made and reported, and entered in the Warden's Ledger, the Bullion was to be put forthwith into a Chest with two keys (one to remain with the Warden, the other with the Master), and to be kept there until delivered to the melting.

The Warden to keep a Book of the melting, and of the Pot Assays, and that and the Ledger of the Bullion to remain in his custody, and to be signed monthly by him and the Master ^q.]

WARDEN, MASTER WORKER, and COMPTROLLER.

When the Money is compleated, they shall lock it up, until it is assayed and delivered to the Importers.

Proof shall be made in their presence of weight and fineness.

Two pieces shall be taken out of every fifteen Pounds weight of Gold, and two pieces, at least, out of every sixty Pounds weight of Silver. One to be for the Assay ^r, and the other to be put into a Box, locked up by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller,

^p Indenture 14 Eliz. Harl. MSS. 698.

^q Id.

^r That is, for the private Assay in the Mint; the other piece is reserved for the Trial of the Pix.

to be tried hereafter before the King or Council, in the presence of the said Warden, Master, and Comptroller. They are bound to attend every Wednesday to receive Bullion, and to deliver out Monies; which they may also do on such other days as they shall appoint.

They are empowered to allow the Moneyers one Penny *per* lb. weight on Silver coined, in consideration of their performing their work well, and making 18 oz. weight in every hundred weight of Silver into small Monies, and returning but $\frac{1}{4}$ in Scissell.

The Moneyers and all other Officers of the Mint are enjoined, under pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment, to work when required by them.

The Moneyers and their Apprentices are to attend the service of the Mint, or the Warden, Master, and Comptroller are to punish, and expel, offenders.

They or any of them may, at the King's price, engage as many Gravers, Smiths, Workmen, and Labourers, to work in the Mint, as shall to them seem needful. And all Mayors, &c. are required to be aiding^s.

They may punish and remove the said Gravers, &c. at discretion.

Faulty Dies are to be defaced in their presence, and not otherwise.

When they require it, the Clerk of the Iron shall give them an account what blank Dies have been delivered to the Gravers, sunk, hardened, worn out,

^s This, I presume, refers to the power which was formerly given to them of taking Workmen, even against their will, to which all Mayors, &c. were to give assistance. But this power could not exist in Pollett's time.

returned, or remaining in hand, that account may be kept. .

Before they have sight of the Milling, they shall take an oath of secrecy before the Treasury.

None shall inhabit in the Mint, except the Officers and others who have a right, without their consent.

The King's Assay Master shall try the value of disputed Gold or Silver in their presence ; and the Master is bound to stand to his Report.

The Melting Books which are kept by the Warden, Comptroller, and King's Clerk, are to be monthly subscribed by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller.

The Coinage Money received by the Master to be kept under their keys.

WARDEN and COMPTROLLER.

If the Monies, on the Trial of the Pix, be not found good in fineness, and yet within the Remedy, they shall record the Lack, and a true account shall be given to the King, who shall receive the whole profit by that Lack. And if it shall be found better in weight, fineness, or both, such Betterness shall be entered on Record, and hold place to the Master in the charge, when any Lack shall be found.

They shall oversee the Assay, melting, sizing, &c. at all times, and in all places; and that the Balances be kept in order.

WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, and ASSAY MASTER.

The Pot Assay shall be made of some Ingot taken by them, or any two of them.

WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, and KING'S CLERK.

Shall keep several Melting Books, to be monthly subscribed by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller.

**WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, KING'S CLERK, and
CLERK OF PAPERS.**

The Bullion Bills given by the Master shall be recorded by them ^t.

In the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider Public Offices [1810] the Warden's Salary is stated at £.365, and his Deputy's at £.66 *per annum*; and it is there said that this office would admit of being brought, at the expiration of the existing interests, entirely under the management of the Deputy, as now constituted: but that the degree of responsibility, or trouble attending the discharge of the whole duties, would entitle the Deputy to an increase of salary. The office was abolished by an Act passed on the 7th of July 1817, and its duties were in future to be performed by the Master of the Mint ^u.

A LIST of the WARDENS of the MINT.

Anno RICHARD I.

4 and 5. Henry de Cornhill ^v.

8. Odo Parvus and others ^w.

^t Pollett's MSS.

^u Stat. 57 G. III. cap. 67. See the Annals.

^v Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 133 and 189. In the third year he accounted for the profits of the Cambium of all England, except Winchester. The profit for one year appears to have been 400*l*.

^w Madox, I. 280.

Anno

JOHN.

3. Hugh Oisel^x.
4. Wido de Vou^y.
5. Hugh Oisel^z.
9. Nigel Ruffus and Odo Parvus^a.

HENRY III.

1. Hubert de Burg^b.
6. Ilger the Goldsmith, Radulfus de Frowik, Elias de Wirecestre, Terricus de Chaniurt^c.
8. Alexander de Dorsete and Henry de St. Alban's^d.
13. Richard Reinger. London and Canterbury^e.
27. Otto Fitz William^f.
29. William Hardell. London and Canterbury^g.
31. Walter de Flemeng^h.
32. William Hardell. London and Canterburyⁱ.
Walter de More^k.
35. J. Silvestre^l.

^x Madox. II. 133.^y Id. *ibid*.^z Id. *ibid*.

^a Id. I. 283. Odo, Oisel, Vou, and Ruffus, accounted for the profits of the Cambium; it is therefore to be presumed that they were Custodes.

^b Pat. 1 H. III. m. 3. In this year the Mayor, &c. of London were commanded to deliver to him the custody of the Mint and Exchange in London.

^c Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.^d Madox, I. 389.^e Id. II. 133.^f Snelling's MS List of Officers of the Mint, *penes Auct*.

^g Madox, II. 134. In other places of Madox's work it appears that Hardell, and some of those which follow him, were Custodes Cunei. See the List.

^h Snelling's MS List.ⁱ Cl. 32 H. III. m. 16.^k Snelling's MS List.^l Madox, II. 205.

Anno HENRY III. (*continued.*)

36. J. de Somercote^m.

42. William the King's Goldsmith. London and Canterburyⁿ.

50—54. B. de Castell and Richard de Geoffrey^o.

54. Bartholomew de Castello^p; alone from 16 November in this year^q.

55. Idem^r.

56. Idem^s.

EDWARD I.

1. Bartholomew de Castello. London and Canterbury^t.

7. Idem^u. He died in this year, and was succeeded by Gregory de Rokesle and Rolandino de Podio^w.

9. Andrew Spersolte and Jacob Donat. Dublin^x.

10. Gregory de Rokesley^y.

14. John de Paturco^z.

19. Gregory de Rokesle. Canterbury^a.

20. 21. 22. 23. William de Wymondham. Canterbury^b.

24. Id. London and Canterbury^c.

^m Anecdotes of Painting, I. 21. note.

ⁿ Madox, II. 89.

^o From July 1, 50th, to November 16th, 54th. Misc. Roll in Record Office at the Tower.

^p Pat. 54 H. III. m. 11.

^q Misc. Roll in Record Office at the Tower.

^r Idem.

^s Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 207.

^t Id.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^w Snelling's MS List.

^x Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^y Cl. 10 E. I. m. 2.

^z Snelling's MS List.

^a Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^b Id.

^c Id. Wymondham was Warden of Canterbury alone until the death of Rokesle in this year. In the second year of the next reign the heirs of Rokesle petitioned that they might be released from a distress which was levied upon them as his representatives.

Anno EDWARD I. (*continued.*)

25. William de Wymondham. Canterbury^d.
P. de Leycestre. London^e.
26. Id.^f
William de Wymondham. Canterbury^g.
27. 28. 29. William Wymondham. Custos Cambii
& Cuneorum Lond. & Cant.^h
30. John de Sandaleⁱ.
33. John de Sandale. Custos Cambiorum London',
Cantuar', Bristoll, Cestr', Novicastri super
Tynam, Kyngeston super Hull, Ebor', &
Exon'^k.
John de Everdon. Custos Cambii & Cuneo-
rum^l.
Gregorius de Coket & Orlandinus de Podio.
Custodes Cambii & Monete^m.

EDWARD II.

1. John de Everdon. Custos Cambii & Cuneo-
rumⁿ.
5. 7. John de Lincoln^o.

It seems that Rokesle had lent £.1000 to the King, and that he had a grant, by Letters Patent, dated May 30, 18 E. I. of a power to repay himself from the profits of the Mint, out of Monies then in his hands, or which might subsequently be in his possession. The distress, I presume, was levied for the profits of the Mint, which appeared to be in his hands at the time of his death. The Petition was granted. Rolls of Parliament, I. 275.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^e Id.

^f Register Kempe, Harl. MSS. No 645. folio 134 b.

^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^h Id.

ⁱ Cl. 30 E. I. m. 6. Warden of the Mint at London.

^k Bundle in the Tower unclassified. He is there called late Warden. ^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Lib. Rub. Scaccarii. The date does not appear.

ⁿ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^o Id.

Anno EDWARD II. (*continued.*)

7. Peter de la Posterle. Bourdeaux ^p.
8. John de Lincoln. London and Canterbury ^q.
W. Trente ^r.
9. 10. 11. 12. Augustine Le Walleys. London and
Canterbury ^s.
12. William de Stowe, Sacrist. St. Edmundsbury ^t.
13. 14. Augustine le Walleys. Canterbury ^u.
14. 15. William de Hausted ^w.
16. 17. Robert de Haselshaw. Custos Cambii &
Monete ^x.

EDWARD III.

- 1 and 2. Walter Turk. Custos Cambii & Monete.
London and Canterbury ^y.
1. John Bonguidy. Bourdeaux. See the 5th year.
- 3 and 4. John de Flete. London and Canterbury
until January 18, when he resigned to John
de Wyndesore ^z.
5. John Bonguidy of Lucca. Bourdeaux ^a.
10. John de Wyndesore. London and Canter-
bury ^b.

^p Rot. Vasc. 7 E. II. m. 12.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. In this year he was com-
mitted to the Marshall for Money due to the King upon his ac-
count. Madox, II. 241. ^r Madox, II. 90.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^t Madox, I. 292.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^w Id. ^x Id.

^y Id. His Patent dated February 3 in the first year.

^z Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^a Rot. Vasc. 5 E. III. m. 1. His first appointment was in the
first year of this reign, for five years; but he was now appointed
during his good behaviour.

^b Rolls of Parliament, II. 448.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued.*)

13. John de Flete^c. He continued until the
 18. when he is spoken of as the late Warden^d.
 14. Gerald de Podio. Bourdeaux^e.
 19—22. William de Wakefeld^f.
 22[about] James de James. St. Sever in Gascony^g.
 23. John de Horton^h.
 23. 24. Robert de Mildenhale. London and Can-
 terburyⁱ.
 25. 26. Idem. Custos Cambii & Cuneorum^k.
 27—34. William de Rockewell. London and Can-
 terbury^l.
 28. William Hunter. York^m.
 William Borreu. Bourdeauxⁿ.
 31. Peter Vernhes. Of Mint of Gold in Bour-
 deaux^o.
 32. Peter de la Grote. Aquen^p.
 34—44. John de Thorp, Clerk^q.
 37. 38. William de Speigne and Philip de Neueton.
 Calais^r.
 49. 50. Richard Lyons to the 24th of July^s.
 50. Thomas Hervy^t.
 William Byremyn. Calais^u.

^c Rymer, V. 104.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^e Rot. Vasc. 14 E. III. m. 4.

^f Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^g Rolls of Parliament, II. 209. He was also Assayer.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer from Michaelmas anno 23
 to June 2d following. ⁱ Id. ^k Id. ^l Id. ^m Id.

ⁿ Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 12. ^o Rot. Vasc. 31 E. III. m. 8.

^p Rot. Vasc. 32 E. III. m. 12.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^r Id. ^s Id. ^t Id.

^u Rot. Franc. 50 E. III. m. 7.

Anno RICHARD II.

- 1—11. John Gurmoncheſter ^w.
 1. Thomas Hervy ^x.
 11—14. Guy Roncliff, Clerk ^y.
 16—20. Andrew Neuport ^z.

HENRY IV.

1. 2. Robert Hethcote. Custos Monete ^a.
 3—5. Id. Custos Cambii & Cuna-
 nagiorum ^b.
 5. Lodowick Reconche. Custos Monete & Cuna-
 giorum ^c.
 13. 14. Henry Somer. Custos Cambii & Monete ^d.
 14. Andrew Neuport. Custos Monete ^e.

HENRY V.

- 1—10. Henry Somer ^f.
 7. John Boindon and Robert Deboynaire.
 Rouen ^g.
 8. Colin Barva. Saint Lo ^h.
 8. John Basin. Eausse ⁱ.

HENRY VI.

- 1—13. Henry Somer ^j.
 1. Thomas Haxey. York ^k.

^w Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 13. and Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^x Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 29.

^y Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^z Id. ^a Id. ^b Id.

^c Id. Jan. 24, 1404.

^d Id. Nov. 29, 1412.

^e Id.

^f Id. June 15, 1413.

^g Rymer, IX. 847.

^h Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

ⁱ See the Account of Eausse Mint.

^j Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, Dec. 20, 1423.

^k Pat. pt. 5. m. 12.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued.*)

9. Richard Bokeland. Calais¹.
 18—24. John Somerseth. Custos Cambii & Monete, & Cunagiorum^m.
 25. John Langton and Walter Aumener. Calaisⁿ.
 25—27. John Lematon. Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagiorum^o.
 25. Richard Vernon and Walter Aumener. Calais^p.
 28—30. Thomas Montgomery. Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagiorum^q.
 31. Thomas Montgomery and John Hynde. Custodes Cambii & Monete^r.
 32—38. Thomas Montgomery^s.

EDWARD IV.

1. Germayne Linche, Maister and Gardeine of the King's Mints and Money in Ireland^t.
 9. John Wode, Arm. Custos Cambii, & Monete, ac Cunagiorum^u.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

¹ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Id. ⁿ Rot. Franc. 25 H. VI. m. 20.

^o Mint Accounts. Patent of Appointment 25 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 29. ^p Rot. Franc. m. 20.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. On Lematon's death in 1450, but Patent not dated till 1452.

^r Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 20 and 23.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Pat. 1 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 25.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

Anno

HENRY VII.

- 1—16. William Stafford. Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagii ^w.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—7. William Stafford. As in the reign of Henry VII. ^x
 4. John Coppinger. Custos Cambii & Monete, & Cunagiorum auri & argenti ^y.
 26. Thomas Pope, with the same title ^z.
 28—35. John Browne ^a.

EDWARD VI.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

- 2—37. Richard Martin ^b.

^w Id. In the Act of Resumption [1487] he is stiled Keeper of the Exchange and Money within the Tower of London, and of the Coinage of Gold and Silver there and elsewhere within the Realm of England. [Rolls of Parliament, VI. 380.]

^x Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. Warton's History of Sir T. Pope, Appendix, No III.

^y Warton, *ubi supra*. Coppinger resigned in favour of Pope, Id. p. 9.

^z Warton, Appendix, No III. Nov. 13, 1535. He quitted the office within eight years from this date, but the exact time is not known.

^a Browne's Patent of Appointment was dated Dec. 23 28 H. VIII. Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 35; and his Account from Michaelmas 35 to March 31 following is at folio 43. Warton says, that Browne resigned, and had an annuity of £18. 6s. 8d. by Writ of Privy Seal May 24 36 H. VIII. Appendix, p. 274.

^b Harl. MSS. No 698, and Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

Anno

JAMES I.

1. Sir Thomas Knevytt ^c.
5. Thomas Lord Knyvet ^d.
15. Thomas Lord Knyvet and Edmund Dooble-day, Esq. ^e
22. Sir William Parkhurst, Knt. ^f
23. Henry Tweddy, Esq. ^g

CHARLES I.

1. Sir Edward Villers and Sir William Parkhurst, Knts. ^h
4. Anthony St. Legar. Custos Cambii & Monete ⁱ.
6. Sir William Parkhurst ^k.
13. Thomas Bushell, Esq. Aberistwith ^l.
18. Sir William Parkhurst, Knt. and Thomas Bushell, Esq. Oxford ^m.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. John St. John ⁿ.

CROMWELL.

^c Indenture. Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^d Malynes, *Lex Mercatoria*, part II. chap. 2.

^e Rymer, XVII. 19.

^f Snelling's Medals, Plate XVIII. No 5. But qu. whether the date be not incorrect ?

^g Pollett's MSS.

^h Rymer, XVIII. 6.

ⁱ Rymer, XIX. 38.

^k Rymer, XIX. 28.

^l Rymer, XX. 162.

^m Folkes's Table of English Silver Coins, p. 85. He says they began to coin at Oxford in this year under the direction of Parkhurst and Bushell; but he does not state their title, or titles, of office.

ⁿ Commons Journals, 1649.

Anno

CHARLES II.

1. Sir Philip Lloyd ^o.
11. Sir Anthony St. Leger ^p.
- 12—14. Sir William Parkhurst, Sir Anthony St. Leger ^q.
23. }
24. } Sir Anthony St. Leger ^r.
26. }
30. }
31. { Sir John Buckworth.
34. { Char. Duncombe.
James Hoare ^s.
35. Sir Thomas Wharton.
Philip Wharton ^t.
James Faulkenor or Falconar. Edinburgh ^u.

JAMES II.

2. Sir Philip Wharton ^v.
3. Idem and Sir Thomas Wharton ^x.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

- 4—7. Benjamin Overton ^y.

^o Snelling's MS List of Officers. ^p Id.

^q Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 83, and Folkes's Table, p. 104.

^r Snelling's MS List. ^s Id. ^t Id.

^u Cardonnel, Num. Scot. p. 117, and Preface, p. 22.

^v Snelling's MS List.

^x Id. In another MS. Snelling says, I find Wynne in 1685, and Sir Philip Lloyd in 1686; and therefore it is probable that the Whartons were laid aside the beginning of James II.

^y History of Grantham, quoted in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXVI. p. 532. He was made one of the Commissioners of the Customs in this year, and was succeeded as Warden by Mr. (afterward Sir) Isaac Newton.

ANNO WILLIAM AND MARY (*continued.*)9. Mr. Isaac Newton ^z.

ANNE.

Sir John Stanley, Bart. ^a7. Craven Peyton ^b.

GEORGE I.

2—5. Sir Robert Sandford ^c.8. William Thompson ^d.11. Walter Carey ^e.13. Sir Andrew Fountaine ^f.

GEORGE II.

1—26. Sir Andrew Fountaine ^z.26. Richard Herbert ^h.

GEORGE III.

6. William Whitmore ⁱ.11. Robert Piggott ^k.38. Sir Walter James, Bart. ^l

^z Snelling's MS List. General Dictionary, VII. 791. In 1699 he was made Master of the Mint. ^a Snelling's MS List.

^b He was appointed on the 1st of May Keeper of the Change and Money within the Tower of London, and Keeper of the Coinage of Gold and Silver within the said Tower, and elsewhere in England, in the same manner as the said offices were granted by her Majesty to Sir John Stanley, Bart. whose Patent was by this Grant determined. Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. IV. p. 626. Snelling's MS List. ^c Snelling's MS List.

^d Id.^e Id.^f Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 111.^g He held the office until his death in this year. Id. *ibid*.^h Snelling's MS List.ⁱ Id.^k Id.

^l Twenty-fourth Report of the Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Supplement (B).

**OF THE DUTIES OF THE MASTER OF THE MINT
DISTINCT FROM THE OTHER OFFICERS ^m.**

Shall receive Gold and Silver after their Value.

If the value be disputable, the King's Assay Master shall try it in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller; and the Master shall stand to his Report.

Shall bring all Gold and Silver which he receives by virtue of his office to be coined, except Medals, and Healing Pieces.

Shall receive Bullion by weight, and deliver it out to the Importers by the same weight.

^m He coins by virtue of an Indenture between the King and him, in which the different sorts of Money, their weight and fineness, are specified.

One part of the Indenture was used to be kept in the Exchequer, as appears from the following entry on the Clause Rolls : "Indenture between the King and Antony Bache, Merchant de Gene, and Nicholas Choue, Masters and Workers in the Mint in the Tower of London.

"Mem^m. On April 14 in the present year David de Wolloure, Keeper of the Rolls, delivered another part of this Indenture, under the seals of the aforesaid Antony and Nicholas, to William de Stowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, William de Brockelesby, one of the Barons, and Nicholas de Holme, Remembrancer, to be kept, as is the custom." [Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.] Sometimes, however, a Commission was issued for making the Monies : as in 3 E. VI. when one was directed to Sir Edmond Peckham, High Treasurer, Sir Martin Bowes, Knt. one of the Under-treasurers, Sir John Godsalue, Knt. Comptroller, William Billingesley, and Thomas Stanley, Assay Masters, and John Germin, Provost of the Moneyers, and to all other Workmen." [Lansdown MSS. No 745.]

Shall receive whatever is nigh to Standard; and the expense of refining shall be borne out of the Revenue.

Shall give Bills for the Bullion he receives.

If the Money on the Trial of the Pix be found good, he shall be quit, and discharged by Letters Patent, without fee.

If it be found without the Remedy, he is finable at the King's will ⁿ.

Shall deliver the Gold and Silver to the Moneyers in clean pieces, who are to make good all deficiencies, and then he to pay these their wages.

Shall receive for the Coinage of Gold *per* Pound weight six Shillings and six Pence, and of Silver *per* Pound weight one Shilling and four Pence Halfpenny.

Shall coin five sorts of Money of Gold, *viz.* Quarter Guinea, Half Guinea, Double Guinea, and Five Guinea Pieces, of the Standard of 22 Carats Fine, and 2 Carats Allay. In weight, after the rate of 44 Guineas and an Half to the Pound weight Troy; and in value £.46. 14s. 6d.

Is not obliged to coin the Quarter Guineas, unless required by the King, or the Treasury ^o.

ⁿ It seems that the Master sometimes took an undue advantage of the Remedy, for in an Indenture of the 20th E. III. he is reminded that the Remedy was not granted that the Money should be made more feeble, but that the Masters should work truly. [Claus. 30 E. III. pt. 1. m. 25. dors.]

^o That is, I presume, because those pieces were not particularized in the Indenture under which he then coined; for this Clause, and also those respecting the Gold and Silver Monies, must be considered in reference to the time when Pollett wrote. At present the Seven Shilling Pieces must be added to the Denominations of the Gold, and the Quarter Guineas withdrawn.

of the Officers, so long as the King shall allow the same sum to be paid by the Warden.

He is authorized to repay the Warden what he disburses.

He shall account yearly before the Auditors, &c. and be acquitted without fee.

Shall yearly retain £.1255. for Salaries.

The security he gives is £.20,000.; and he takes an oath to perform covenants^r.

He shall have full allowance of his disbursements in his Accounts before the Auditors; and shall receive his Salary, &c.^s

[In former times he had authority to take as many Gravers of the Irons, and other Workmen, at the King's cost, as he should think necessary; and all Mayors, Bailiffs, &c. were commanded, by the King, to assist him in taking such Gravers, &c.^t]

^r The security given by Lord Hastings in the eighth year of Edward IV. was his bodily oath in the King's Chancery, binding himself, his heirs, and executors; and besides this he found eight borowes [or Bondsmen] in one hundred Pounds each. Indenture, Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 177.

^s His salary is confirmed by the Indenture, and is £500, payable either out of several (recited) Acts of Parliament, or, in default, out of the King's Seignorage for Coinage, or some other of his Majesty's Revenues. [Pollett's Abstract of the Indenture in force between the King and Mr. Conduitt in 1744.] But in this statement there must be some error, as the Seignorage was abolished by Statute 18 Charles II. Chap. V.

From Mr. Chancellor Montague's Letter to Sir Isaac Newton it appears that in 1695 the salary was about £600. [Gent. Mag. LXXVI. 532]; but by Statute 39 George III. chap. XCIV. it was limited to £3000. *per annum* in lieu of salary and fees, the latter of which amounted to a large sum upon every considerable Coinage.

^t Indenture 8 E. IV. Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 172.

[He might then make a delivery of the Coins to the Merchant, once or twice in a week, or oftener if he thought fit ^u.]

[In the reign of Elizabeth he engaged to have of his own Coin and Money two thousand Pounds in stock, for the readier payment of those who should bring Bullion to be sold, in order to encourage the bringing it to the Mint ^w.]

He is bound to make the Gold Monies agreeable to the Trial Piece of the fourth year of James II.; and the Silver according to that of the first of George II.

MASTER, WARDEN, and COMPTROLLER.

See WARDEN.

MASTER, COMPTROLLER, and ASSAY MASTER.

They, or any two of them, whereof the Master to be one, to avow the Officers' Fees, Wages, Diet, Charges, Expense of Repairs of Houses and Offices, in the Warden's Account.

By the Indenture the King confirms to the Master all buildings, &c. profits, privileges, &c. belonging to the Office ^x.

In the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider Publick Offices [1810] this is stated to be one which requires little or no attendance, though it is of occasional responsibility; that it does not come under the description of *Sinecure Offices*, or *Offices executed entirely, or principally, by Deputy*; that it is not held, either by patent, or by custom, for life; nor given as the reward of publick services.

^u Indenture 8 E. IV. *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 174.

^w Indenture 14 Eliz. Harl. MS. 698.

^x Pollett's MS.

A LIST of the MASTERS of the MINT.

Anno

HENRY I.

Godwin Socche, Winchester^y.

EDWARD I.

3. Gregory Rokesley^z.
8. William de Turnemire, of Marseilles^a.
Richard de Lothebury, St. Edmundsbury^b.
9. Alexander Norman de Luic, Dublin^c.
- 9 or 10. Gregory de Rokesley^d.
13. William de Turnemire, in Gascony^e.
14. John de Caturco and Gerald Mauhan, London
and Canterbury^f.
15. Jónh de Caturco, Magister Monete in Camb'.
Lond'.^g
- 25—28. John Porcher, Magister Monete Cambii^h.
- 25 to 12 E. II. Róger de Rede, St. Edmundsburyⁱ.
28. Alexander Norman de Luyke, Dublin^k.
Hubert Elion, William de Turnemire, and his
Brother^l.

^y British Topography, vol. I. p. 389.

^z Stow. He was Mayor of London in this year.

^a Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247. In Stow's Survey Rokesley appears as Master of the Mint under this year.

^b Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645, folio 116, b. He continued until 25 E. I.

^c Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, and Simon's Irish Coins, p. 15. ^d Madox, I. 291. ^e Rot. Vasc. 13 E. I. m. 2.

^f Madox, II. 90. ^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^h Id. and Lib. Rub. Scacc. folio 259.

ⁱ North's Answer to Clarke, p. 13.

^k Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 259. In a Clause Roll of the 30th year of Edward I. the King styles him Alexander Norman De Luca Monetar' nr'. Hib'n', m. 6.

^l Idem. List without date, fol. 245.

Anno

EDWARD II.

2. John de Puntoyse^m.
 6. John de Pontoyse and Lapine Roger, London and Canterburyⁿ.
 8. Lapine Roger^o.
 10—12. Giles de Herteshburgh and Terric de Lose, London and Canterbury^p.
 12 from 25 E. I. Roger de Rede, St. Edmundsbury^q.
 12. Alan de Cove, St. Edmundsbury^r.
 Giles de Herteshburgh, Canterbury^s.
 12—17. Lapine Roger, Magister Monete monetand. in Cambiis London' & Cant.^t
 13. Hugh de Houton, St. Edmundsbury^u.

EDWARD III.

1. Roger Rykeman, London and Canterbury^v.
 17. George Kirkyn and Lotto Nicholyn, of Florence^x.
 Henry Brisele^y.
 Hugh Martyn, Bourdeaux and Aquen^z.

^m Madox, II. 90. He succeeded John le Porcher.

ⁿ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^o Id. In the next year Stephen Week was his *locum tenens* at Canterbury.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer; on the resignation, as it should seem, of Lapine Roger. Baldewyn de Afflyngham was their *locum tenens* at Canterbury.

^q North's Answer to Clarke, p. 13.

^r Reg. Werketone, folio 11, b. Harl. MSS. No 638.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. ^t Id.

^u Reg. Kempe, fol. 117. Harl. MSS. No 645.

^v Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 107. He succeeded Lapine Roger. ^x Cl. 17 E. III. pt. 2. m. 4. dors.

^y Cl. 17 E. III. m. 15. dors. ^z Rot. Vasc. 17 E. III. m. 14.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued.*)

18, 19, 28. Percival de Porche de Luca ^a.

18. Luke Nicholyn ^b.

Walter de Dunflower ^c.

20. George Kirkyn and Lotto Nicholyn ^d.

21 and 22. Bertrand de Polirac, Mestre du Coigne,
& de Monoies de la Duchee de Guien ^e.

Luke Nicholyn and George Clerkyn ^f.

23. John Lotte Nicole Donato du Chastell de Florence & Socii Sui ^g.

24. Anthony Bache of Geneva and Nicholas Choue ^h.
Henry de Brusele ⁱ.

25 and 26. Henry de Brusele and John de Cicestre ^k.

27 and 28. Henry de Brusele, London and Canterbury ^l.

28. Henry de Brusely, York ^m.

30. John Donative of the Castle of Florence, and
Philip John Denier ⁿ.

34. Peter Bataile, Rochelle ^o.

35. G. de Barde ^p.

36. Robert de Porch ^q.

37. Idem ^r.

Guater de Barde ^s.

^a Cl. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 4. Cl. 18 E. III. m. 19. dors. Rolls of Parliament, II. 452. ^b Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^c Lowndes.

^d Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 2. m. 22.

^e R. Parl. II. 208.

^f Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^g Id.

^h Id. and Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.

ⁱ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^k Pat. 25 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13. dors. and Cl. m. 15; and Mint Accounts. ^l Mint Accounts. ^m Id.

ⁿ Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^o Rot. Cales. 34 E. III. pt. 1. m. 6.

^p Snelling's MS List.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^r Id.

^s Id.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued.*)Henry de Brussele, Calais ^t.38. G. de Barde, Calais ^u.39. Thomas Kyng, Calais ^x.40. John Chichester ^y.40, 41, 43. Gautron de Barde, Calais ^z.44. Gauter or Gawtron de Bard ^a.45, 46, 48. Bardet de Malepils ^b.49, 50. Galtron' de Bard ^c.

RICHARD II.

1—14. Gautron de Bardes ^d.18. Nicholas Malakin, a Florentine ^e.John Wildeman ^f.19. Nicholas Malakine ^g.19, 20, 21. Geoffrey Mullekyn ^h.

HENRY IV.

3. Walter Merwe, Magister Monete Lond. ⁱ4. Idem, Magister Monetarum ^k.14. Richard Garner ^l.Lodowic John ^m.

^t Mint Accounts. In Rot. Franc. 37 E. III. n. 11. his name is written Brisele. ^u Mint Accounts.

^x Rot. Franc. 39 E. III. m. 9. ^y Cl. 40 E. III. pt. 1. m. 12.

^z Mint Accounts, and Rot. Franc. 40 E. III. m. 4.

^a Mint Accounts.

^b Lowndes. Cl. 45 E. III. m. 27. dors.; Snelling's MS List; and Cl. 46 E. III. m. 18. dors. ^c Mint Accounts.

^d Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 31. Rolls of Parliament, III. 392, and Mint Accounts. Snelling's MS List has John Wildman as Master 1 R. II.; but I know not on what authority.

^e Lowndes.

^f Claus. 18 R. II. m. 25.

^g Bre. Reg. 18 and 19 R. II.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Id. Claus. 3 H. IV. pt. 2. dors.

^k Mint Accounts.

^l Id.

^m Id.

Anno

HENRY V.

- 1 and 2. Lodewick, or Lowys, John, London and Calais ⁿ.
 5. Conrad Melwer, Duchy of Normandy ^o.
 5—7. John Lowys, or Lodowic John ^p.
 8. John Marceur, St. Lo ^q.
 9. Bartholomew Goldbeter ^r.

HENRY VI.

- 1—11. Bartholomew Goldbeter, London, York, Bristol, and Calais ^s.
 4. Robert Manfeld ^t.
 10 and 11. William Russe, London, Calais, Bristol, and York ^u.
 13—24. John Paddesley, of the same places ^w.
 24—38. Robert Manfeld, London and Calais ^x.
 37—49. Sir Richard Tonstall, Knt. ^y

ⁿ Ind. Cl. 1 H. V. m. 35. dors. Snelling's MS List.

^o Rot. Norm. 5 H. V. m. 9.

^p Mint Accounts. His name is written both ways in the same account. ^q Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

^r Claus. 9 H. V. m. 2. dors.

^s Cl. 1 H. VI. m. 13. dors. Pat. 4 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 16. Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. Pat. 7 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 18. Acquitanc. p' Execut. Barth'i Goldbeter M'ri Monet'. R. post Assaya inde fact'. Pat. 11 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 11. He is sometimes called Bartholomew Seman Goldbeter.

^t Lowndes, and Snelling's MS List.

^u Pat. 10 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 29. and 11 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 9.

^w Mint Accounts, and Cl. 12 H. VI. m. 4. dors.

^x Mint Accounts.

^y Cl. 37 H. VI. m. 11. dors. and Cl. 49. H. VI. m. 4. dors.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued.*)

39. Robert Bishop of Ross, London, the Realm of
England, and Calais ^a.
Germayne Lynch, Ireland ^a.

EDWARD IV.

- 1—16. William Lord Hastings, London and Calais^b.
1—13. Germayne Linche, Ireland ^c.
19. Hugh Brice^d.

^a Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 16. He was Bishop of Ross in Ireland; which See is now annexed to Cork.

^a Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 7.

^b Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16. Mint Accounts. Pat. 11 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 3. Pat. 16 E. IV. pt. m. 3. Of the King's peculiar munificence, the same year [*i. e.* 1 E. IV.] he had a grant of the office of Master of his Mint in the Tower of London, and Town of Calais, for twelve years. [Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 580.] From an Indenture of 4th E. IV. it appears that Lord Hastings was also Keeper of all manner of the King's Eschaunges and Outchaunges in the Tower of London, Realm of England, Territory of Ireland, and Town of Calais. [Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16.] Another Indenture, of the eighth year of E. IV. was communicated by Taylor Combe, Esq. to the Society of Antiquaries, and was printed in the XVth volume of the Archæologia, p. 164.

^c Pat. 1 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 25. Simon's Irish Coins, p. 27, and Appendix, No XIII.

^d Rymer, XII. 96. Brice was Deputy to Lord Hastings [Pat. 9 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 20. and anno 13. pt. 1. m. 10.] as he was also to Reed [Mint Accounts in the Exchequer]. I therefore suspect that he was Master of the Mint of Calais only. Rymer states, above, that Hugh Brice, Alderman of London, Master of the Mint, was one of the persons appointed to hold the Conference at Maclinia, on the part of the King, upon the 12th of January 1279.

Caxton, in "Thymage, or Myrrour of the Worlde," which he printed in 1491, says, that he translated that book at the request, desire, cost, and dispense of the honourable and worship-

Anno EDWARD IV. (*continued.*)

22. Bartholomew Reed ^e.

Thomas Galmole, Master and Worker of the
Money of Silver in Develyn and Waterford ^f.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

1. Robert Brackenbury ^g.

HENRY VII.

1—5. Giles Lord Dawbeney, Knt. and Bartholomew Rede, Goldsmith ^h.

1. Robert Bowley, Maister of the Cunage and Mynt within the Cities of Dyvelyn and Waterford ⁱ.

8. John Shaa and Bartholomew Reed ^j.

9. Robert Fenrother and Bartholomew Reed ^k.

10—13. John Shaa and Bartholomew Rede, Operarii Monete ^l.

HENRY VIII.

1—10. William Blount Lord Mountjoy ^m.

15. William Wright, York ⁿ.

ful man Hugh Brice, Alderman and Citizen of London, who told him that he intended to present it to the Lord Hastings. [Typographical Antiquities. Dibdin's Edition, vol. I. pp. 105, 106.]

^e Lowndes. Mint Accounts.

^f MS. No 116. Antiq. Soc. Library.

^g Lowndes.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, Snelling's MS List of Officers.

ⁱ Rolls of Parliament, VI. 346.

^j Snelling's MS List.

^k Lowndes.

^l Mint Accounts.

^m Id.

ⁿ Wynne's MSS. in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, vol. LXXXI. folio 233, b. Wright was Master of the Archbishop's Mint.

Anno HENRY VIII. (*continued.*)

18. Ralph Rowlet and Martin Bowes ^o.
22. William Blount Lord Mountjoy ^p.
25. William Tillesworth, Archbishop's Mint, Canterbury ^q.
34. Sir Martin Bowes and Ralphe Rowlett ^r.
35. Sir Martin Bowes ^s.
36. Sir Martin Bowes, Knt. Stephen Vaughan and Thomas Knight, Esquires, Under-treasurers, Robert Brook, Comptroller, John York, William Billingsley, William Knight, and Thomas Stanley, Assay Masters ^t.
Nicholas Tyery ^u.

EDWARD VI.

1. John York and others, Southwark.
William Tilsworth, Canterbury.
Sir Martin Bowes, Tower ^w.
2. George Gale, York.
John York, Southwark.
William Tilsworth, Canterbury ^x.
- 3, 4, and 5. Sir Edmund Peckham and others ^y.

^o MS Indentures, penès G. Chalmers, Arm.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. In this year he appointed Hugh Welshe to be his Deputy in the Tower of London, the Realm of England, and the Town of Calais.

^q See the account of that Mint. ^r Lowndes.

^s Harl. MS. No 698. folio 43.

^t Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745. These were not Masters, but Commissioners.

^u Nicolson, Eng. Hist. Lib. p. 249, no date.

^w Lowndes. Lansdown MS. No 744, says the same on 36 H. VIII. ^x Id.

^y Lowndes. These were Commissioners, like those in the 36th of Henry VIII. Snelling's MS List has Richard Throgmorton for these years.

Anno EDWARD VI. (*continued.*)

Sir William Sharington, Durham House ^a.

4—6. Martyn Pirri, Dublin ^a.

5. York and Throgmorton ^b.

6. George Gale, John Winde, Richard Lee, York ^c.

PHILIP AND MARY.

1. Thomas Egerton ^d.

ELIZABETH.

2. Sir Thomas Stanley and others ^e.

14—19. John Lonison ^f.

15. Thomas Stanley ^g.

23. Sir Richard Martin ^h.

24, 25. Richard Martin ⁱ.

26—43. Sir Richard Martin, Knt. and Richard Martin his son ^k.

JAMES I.

1—3. Sir Richard Martin, Knt. and Richard Martin his son ^l.

13. Lord Knevet and Edward Doubleday ^m.

17—21. Randall Cranfield ⁿ.

21. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. ^o

^z Pennant's London, p. 132.

^a Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. folio 186. Edward VI. Journal. Burnet's Reformation, vol. II. Appendix, p. 47.

^b Journal, p. 32.

^c Harl. MSS. No 38. folio 249.

^d Lowndes.

^e Id.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 24. Lowndes.

^g Lansdown MSS. No 5.

^h Leake, p. 250.

ⁱ Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 23. Lowndes.

^k Lowndes. Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^l Folkes, p. 66. Lowndes.

^m Snelling's MS List.

ⁿ Id. Pollett. Leake, p. 279. Rymer, XVIII. 6.

^o Pollett.

Anno JAMES I. (*continued.*)

22. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. and Henry Twedy,
Esq. ^p

23. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. ^q

CHARLES I.

1—11. Sir Robert Harley ^r.

11—16. Sir Ralph Freeman ^s.

13. Thomas Bushel, Esq. Aberistwith ^t.

17. Sir William Parkhurst. }
Thomas Bushell, Esq. } Oxford ^v.

18. Sir Robert Harley ^u.

22. Henry Slingsby ^w.

John Faulkener or Falconar, Edinburgh ^x.

COMMONWEALTH.

1—3. Aaron Guerdain ^y.

CROMWELL.

CHARLES II.

12. Sir William Parkhurst ^z.

12—14. Sir Ralph Freeman, Knt. ^a

Sir Thomas Vyner, Robert Vyner, and Daniel
Bellingham, Dublin ^b.

22, 24, 26, 30. Henry Slingsby ^c.

^p Pollett.

^q Id.

^r Folkes, p. 94. Pollett.

^s Lowndes.

^t Folkes, p. 82.

^v See the account of the Oxford Mint.

^u Snelling's MS List.

^w Lowndes.

^x See the explanation of Plate XLI. No 11, and the following note ^e.

^y Folkes, p. 95. Violet's *Mysteries of Mint Affairs*, p. 172.

^z Violet's *Appeal to Cæsar*, p. 26.

^a Vertue's *Works of Simon*, second edition, p. 83.

^b Simon's *Irish Coins*, Appendix, LVII.

^c Snelling's MS List.

Anno CHARLES II. (*continued.*)

30. Thomas Neale ^d,

John Faulkener or Falconar, Edinburgh ^e.

JAMES II.

1. Thomas Neale ^f.

4. John Trinder, Thomas Goddard, William Talbot, William Brumfield, Francis Rice, Edward Fox, Dublin.

Walter Plunket, Limerick ^g.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1—10. Thomas Neale ^h.

11. Sir Isaac Newton ⁱ.

Major Wyvil, York ^k.

ANNE.

GEORGE I.

4—12. Sir Isaac Newton ^l.

12. John Conduit ^m.

GEORGE II.

1. John Conduit ⁿ.

11—13. Honourable Richard Arundell ^o.

^d Snelling's MS List.
and Preface, p. 22.

^e Cardonnel, Num. Scot. p. 117, .
^f Lowndes.

^g Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59. They were Commissioners for coining the Brass Money. ^h Lowndes. Harl. Miscel. VIII. 484.

ⁱ Snelling's MS List. General Dictionary.

^k Drake's York, Appendix, p. ciii.

^l Pollett. He held this office until his death on the 20th of March, 1726-7. General Dictionary. Upon his death it was offered to Dr. Clarke, who refused it. Life by Wharton, p. 135.

^m General Dictionary.

ⁿ Id. Snelling's MS List.

^o Snelling's MS List. Vallavine's Observations on the current Coin, p. 15. Arundell's Final Account, 1744, January 3. Lansdown MSS. vol. 704.

Anno **GEORGE II. (*continued.*)**

18. The same *p.*

18—30. William Chetwind *q.*

GEORGE III.

9. Honourable Charles Sloane Cadogan *r.*

24. Earl of Effingham *s.*

29. Earl of Chesterfield *t.*

30. Earl of Leicester *u.*

34. Sir George Yonge, Bart. *v.*

39. Lord Hawkesbury *w.*

41. Lord Arden *x.*

42. Right Honourable John Smythe *y.*

44. Earl Bathurst *z.*

45. Lord Charles Spencer *a.*

46. Bragge Bathurst *b.*

47. Earl Bathurst *c.*

52. Earl of Clancarty *d.*

54. Right Hon. William Wellesley Pole *e.*

The Master has his own Assay Master. In the 29th of George II. that office was held by Joseph Lucas *f.*, and in the 38th of George III. by Robert Bingley *g.*

p Folkes, p. 112.

q Snelling's MS List. Maitland's History of London, vol. I. p. 155.

r Verdict on Trial of the Pix, 1799, and Indenture of eleventh year.

s t u Gent. Mag. LXXVI. 533, from Turnor's History of Grantham. *v* Verdict in 1799, as above, note *r.*

w Gent. Mag. as above.

x Votes of the House of Commons, Feb. 19, 1801.

y s Gent. Mag. as above.

a b c From the Publick Papers.

d Gazette.

e Indenture, August 16, 1815.

f Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

g Report of Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

**OF THE DUTY OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE MINT,
DISTINCT FROM THE OTHER OFFICERS.**

Shall annually make a Roll of the Gold and Silver molten and coined, and deliver it on oath before one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

COMPTROLLER and WARDEN. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and MASTER. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and ASSAY MASTER. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and KING'S CLERK. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, KING'S CLERK, and CLERK OF PAPERS. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, MASTER, and ASSAY MASTER. See MASTER ^h.

A LIST of the COMPTROLLERS of the MINT.

Anno EDWARD II.

5—15. Roger de Frouwik, or Roger Frowyke, Canterbury ⁱ.

EDWARD III.

3 and 4. John Ponteyse ^j.

23—28. Richard de Grymmesby, London and Canterbury ^k.

^h Pollett's MS.

ⁱ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^j Id.

^k Id.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued.*)

28. Henry de Brusle, York^l.

William Borreu, in Aquitaine^m.

34. Henry de Brysele, Contr. Monet' argent in Turr'
London'ⁿ.

Hugh de Wythingham^o.

36 and 37. Gauter de Bard^p.

37—43. Eustas de Glaston^q.

44. Gauter de Bard^r.

RICHARD II.

HENRY IV.

2—5. William Fitzhugh, Goldsmith, Contr. Mag'ri
Monete^s.

13. Thomas Drayton, Comptroller and Assayer^t.

14. William Fitzhugh^u.

HENRY V.

5—7. William Fitzhugh, Contr. Cambii & Mo-
nete^w.

HENRY VI.

1—8. John Derlyngton^x.

1. Thomas Roderham, Comptroller, Exchanger,
and Assayer, York^y.

8. John Tyse^z.

^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 12.

ⁿ Mint Accounts, from April 5 to June 16.

^o Mint Accounts, from June 17 to Michaelmas following.

^p Mint Accounts.

^q Id.

^r Id.

^s Mint Accounts.

^t Pat. 13 H. IV. pt. 2. m. 27.

^u Mint Accounts.

^w Id.

^x Id.

^y Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.

^z Mint Accounts.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued.*)

- 9 and 10. John Hexham ^a.
 13—19. Henry Ragley ^b.
 16. Giles Seyntlowe, Calais ^c.
 23—28. Thomas Thorpe ^d.
 23. Giles Seyntlowe and William Wever, Calais ^e.
 29. Richard Joynour ^f.
 30—38. Humphrey Hayford, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, Contr. Monete & Cunagii ^g.

EDWARD IV.

1. Thomas St. Legier, Comptroller, Campsor, and Assayer ^h.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—3. Nicholas Flynte, Contr. Monete & Cunagii infra Turrin. Lond. ⁱ

HENRY VIII.

- 3—10. Henry Wyott, Miles, Contr. Monete d'ni Regis infra Turrin Lond.; ac Cunagii Auri & Argenti infra Tur'. predict'; & alibi infra Regnum Anglie ^k.
 33. Peter Meawtas ^l.
 34—36. Hugh Egglionbie, Contr. and Assayer ^m.
 36. Robert Brooke or Brookes ⁿ.

^a Mint Accounts.

^b Id.

^c Rot. Franc. 16 H. VI. m. 7.

^d Mint Accounts.

^e Rot. Franc. 23 H. VI. m. 12.

^f Mint Accounts. ^g Id.

^h Claus. 1 E. IV.

ⁱ Mint Accounts.

^k Mint Accounts.

^l Sir Julius Cæsar's MS. penes Autor.

^m Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 35, 43.

ⁿ Snelling's MS List.

Anno

EDWARD VI.

3. Sir John Godsalue^o.
Robert Recorde, Bristol ^p.
4. Thomas Fleetwood^q.
Oliver Dawbeney, Dublin ^r.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

1. Thomas Stanley^s.
37. Andrew Palmer^t.

JAMES I.

- 2—15. Richard Rogers^u.

CHARLES I.

1. Richard Rogers and William Wood^v.
15. Henry Cogan and William Wheeler, Contr^s.
Cunagii & Monetæ^x.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Henry Cogan^y.
3. Barnardiston^z.

CROMWELL.

- ^o Snelling's MS List. ^p Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 440.
^q Snelling's MS List. Noble says that he was Treasurer of the Royal Mint in Southwark. Memoirs of Cromwell, vol. II. p. 349. ^r Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. fol. 186.
^s Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors. Snelling has in this year John Bull instead of Stanley. ^t Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.
^u Snelling's MS List. Rymer, XVII. 19.
^v Rymer, XVIII. 6.
^x Rymer, XIX. 379. Henry Cogan was appointed to these places, in reversion, on the 6th of September 1627. Rymer, XVIII. 988. ^y Commons Journals.
^z Snelling's MS List.

Anno

CHARLES II.

13. James Hoare ^a.

JAMES II.

4. Messrs. Holland, Morgan, Osborn, and Dempsey, Dublin ^b.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

James Hoare ^c.

ANNE.

2. John Ellis ^d.10. Edward Phelips ^e.13. Martin Bladen ^f.

GEORGE I.

1. Martin Bladen ^g.

GEORGE II.

3—29. Lord Aylmer ^h.

28. John Buller.

GEORGE III.

26. John Buller ⁱ.38. John Carthew, Esq. ^k^a Snelling's MS List.^b Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59. They were Comptrollers of his Mint for the Brass Money.^c Snelling's MS List ; without date.^d Id.^e Id.^f Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 29.^g Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 29. I know not whether his appointment took place in this reign or in the preceding one. It is dated in 1714.^h True State of England, 1729. Snelling's MS List. Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.ⁱ Snelling's MS List. The date of the 28th Geo. II. does not agree with the preceding ; but Maitland gives Lord Aylmer as Comptroller in 1756. John Buller, Esq. M. P. for East Looe, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and Comptroller of the Mint, died on the 26th of July 1786. Gent. Mag.^k State of the Nation, Report XXIV. vol. III. p. 207.

By the Indenture of the 55th year, the Deputy Comptroller is to perform the duties of this office on the termination of the present interest, and no Deputy to be afterwards appointed.

OF THE DUTY OF THE KING'S ASSAY MASTER, DISTINCT FROM THE OTHER OFFICERS.

He shall keep a Book of Bullion brought into the Mint, and also of the Pot Assay, to be made of some Ingot to be taken by the Warden, Comptroller, and Assay Master, or two of them.

The Master is bound to stand to his Report on the Trial of Gold and Silver, in dispute between him and the Importers, being made in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller¹.

Mr. Pollett has omitted to mention that the Coins cannot be issued until their delivery has been sanctioned by the King's Assay Master; whose office has, in modern times, arisen to the highest importance, as the very distant periods to which the Trials of the Pix have lately been deferred, have left him the sole guardian of the purity of many millions of Money. The Trials which have taken place during the present reign all bear ample testimony to the skill and integrity of the Assay Master, and the accuracy of the Moneyers.

ASSAY MASTER, WARDEN, and COMPTROLLER.
See WARDEN.

ASSAY MASTER, MASTER, and COMPTROLLER.
See MASTER^m.

¹ See Statute 2 H. VI. Chap. XII.

^m Pollett's MS.

A LIST of the KING'S ASSAY MASTERS.

Anno

HENRY III.

6. Robertus de Grettone and Galfridus de Frowicⁿ.
 32. Richard Bonaventure^o.
 Galfridus Rikeward, Canterbury^p.
 33. Peter Delvesday, Winchester^q.
 54. Bartholomew de Castello, Keeper of the Cam-
 bium, appointed to prove and assay the King's
 Money throughout the whole Kingdom^r.

EDWARD I.

- 1 and 2. Bartholomew de Brauncestre^s.
 3. Gregory Rokesley, Chief Saymaster of all the
 King's Mints throughout England, and Keeper
 of the King's Exchange in London^t.
 5. Richard de Bentley, St. Edmundsbury^u.
 8. John de Rede, St. Edmundsbury^v.
 — Fache, Mercator, Capital' Essaiator, Emp-
 tor, & Ponderator Monete^x.
 10. John Guyot^y.
 25. Hugh Houton, St. Edmundsbury^z.

ⁿ Madox, Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors. Madox, in the second volume of his History of the Exchequer, p. 87, gives the latter of these names *Frowe*. The above is taken from an extract from the the Roll attested by Henry Bromfeild, one of the Secondaries, Dec. 14, 1744, for which I am indebted to the venerable Historian of Leicestershire. ^o Madox, II. 88.

^p Id. ibid. ^q North's Remarks on Clarke, p. 15.

^r Pat. 54 H. III. m. 11. ^s Madox, II. 90.

^t Stow's Chronicle. He was then Mayor of London.

^u Madox, II. 90.

^v Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. No 645. folio 117.

^x Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247. ^y Cl. 10 E. I. m. 2.

^z Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645. fol. 117.

Anno EDWARD I. (*continued.*)

28. John de Sandale, also Keeper of the Exchange of England^a.

Boniface Galoani, of Florence^b.

EDWARD II.

Before 12th year, Lapine Roger, Canterbury^c.

14. John de Redgrave, St. Edmundsbury^d.

EDWARD III.

1. John de Pointroyse. Also Exchanger London and Canterbury^e.

6. Arnald Delescapoins^f.

11—19. Geoffrey de Thoresby, Canterbury^g.

21. William de Salop, also Custos Cuneorum, Calais^h.

About 21 or 22. James de James, also Warden, St. Severⁱ.

25. Hugh de Wychyngham^k.

26—28. Richard de Grymesbi, London and Canterbury^l.

30. Hugh de Wychyngham, Campsor and Assayer^m.

32. Peter de la Grote, Aquenⁿ.

^a Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scaccarii.

^b Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 245.

^c Madox, II. 90.

^d Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645. fol. 117.

^e Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. fol. 109.

^f Rot. Vasc. 6 E. III. m. 8.

^g Pat. 11 E. III. pt. 2. m. 34. in like manner as Lapine Roger deceased had held it. Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^h Rot. Franc. 21 E. III. p. 2. m. 4.

ⁱ Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 209.

^k Mint Accounts.

^l Id.

^m Pat. 30 E. III. pt. 3. m. 18. He is said to have the office on the same terms as Henry de Brisele held it. This is the only instance in which I have found that person mentioned as Campsor and Assayer. The time when he held these offices does not appear.

ⁿ Rot. Vasc. 32 E. III. m. 12.

Annæ EDWARD III. (*continued.*)

35. Clare de Court, Campsor and Assayer ^o.
 35. Hugh de Wychingham, Campsor and Assayer
 of Silver Money in the Tower of London ^p.
 41. Eustace de Glaston ^q.
 49 and 50. John de Leycestre ^r.
 49. John de Maunsfeld, Campsor and Assayer, Calais ^s.

RICHARD II.

1. John Leicester, Campsor and Assayer ^t.
 11—14. John Leycestre, Assayer ^u.
 17. John Wildeman, Campsor and Assayer ^w.
 17—18. Richard Clytherowe, Campsor and Assayer,
 Calais ^x.
 20 and 21. Walter Merwe, Campsor and Assayer ^y.
 20. John Feld, Campsor and Assayer, Calais ^z.

HENRY IV.

- 1—14. William Fitzhugh ^a.
 13. Thomas Drayton, Assayer and Comptroller ^b.

HENRY V.

- 5—7. William Fitzhugh, Goldsmith ^c.
 7. John Courel, Rouen ^d.

^o Mint Accounts, from March 5 to June 18.

^p Id. from Michaelmas to March 5. ^q Id. ^r Id.

^s Rot. Franc. 49 E. III. m. 13.

^t Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 20.

^u Mint Accounts.

^w Pat. 17 R. II. m. 2.

^x Cl. 18 R. II. m. 13.

^y Mint Accounts.

^z Rot. Franc. 20 R. II. m. 6.

^a Mint Accounts.

^b Pat. 13 H. IV. m. 27.

^c Mint Accounts.

^d Rot. Norm. 7 H. V. pt. 1. m. 81, dors. He succeeded his father Laurence Courel.

Anno HENRY V. (*continued.*)

- 8. Perrin Pelagin, St. Lô^e.
- 9. John Derlyngton, Campsor and Assayer^f.
- 10. Jacob Shaft, Campsor and Assayer, Calais^g.

HENRY VI.

- 1—8. John Derlyngton^h.
- 1. Thomas Roderham, Yorkⁱ.
- Jacob Shaft, Campsor and Assayer, Calais^k.
- 8. John Tyse^l.
- 9 and 10. John Hexham^m.
- 13. Henry Ragleyⁿ.
- 16. Giles Seyntlowe, Calais^o.
- 17. John Amanyn, of Bourdeloys, Master de la Touche, Bourdeaux^p.
- 18. Henry Ragley and Thomas Thorpe, vicissim Assaiatores Monete^q.
- 23—28. Thomas Thorpe^r.
- 23. Giles Seyntlowe and William Wever, Calais^s.
- 29. Richard Joynour^t.
- 30—38. Humphery Hayford^u.

^e Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

^f Pat. 9 H. V. pt. 2. m. 6. dors.

^g Rot. Franc. 10 H. V. m. 3.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.

^k Rot. Franc. 1 H. VI. m. 20.

^l Mint Accounts.

^m Mint Accounts.

ⁿ Id.

^o Rot. Franc. 16 H. VI. m. 7.

^p Rot. Vasc. 17 and 18 H. VI. m. 8. as Stephen Soporet had held it.

^q Mint Accounts.

^r Mint Accounts.

^s Rot. Franc. 23 H. VI. m. 12.

^t Mint Accounts.

^u Id.

Anno

EDWARD IV.

1. Thomas St. Legier, Comptroller, Campsor, and Assayer ^w.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—3. Nicholas Flynte, Assaiator Monete & Cunagii ^x.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—4. Henry Wiatt, or Wyott, Miles, Assaiator Monete d'ni Regis infra Turrim London', ac Assaiator Cunagii Auri & Argenti infra Turrim prædict', & alibi infra Regnum Anglie^y.
- 35—36. Hugh Eglonby, or Egleby, Assayer and Comptroller ^z.
36. John York, William Billingsley, William Knight, and Thomas Stanley ^a.
 Laurence Warren, of London, Goldsmith, Assay Master Cambii, Cunagii & Monete, Canterbury ^b.

^w Claus. 1 E. IV.^x Mint Accounts.^y Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.^z Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 43.^a Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.^b He received a general pardon, under the Great Seal, 6 E. VI, for all offences against the Mint, in the time of King Henry VIII., in which he is stiled late Assay Master, &c. Orig. penes Joseph Dimsdale, Arm.

Anno

EDWARD VI.

- 3. William Billingesley and Thomas Stanley ^c.
- 4. William Knight ^d.
- 4—6. William Williams, Ireland ^e.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

- 1—5. William Humphreys ^f.
- 1. John Bull ^g.
- 18. William Humfrie and William Williams ^h.
- 25. William Williams and Walter Williams his son ⁱ.
- 32. Walter Williams ^k.

JAMES I.

- 8. Walter Williams, Andrew Palmer, and John Reynold ^l.
- 15. Walter Williams and Andrew Palmer ^m.

^c Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^d Id.

^e Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. fol. 186. Edward VI. Journal. Burnet, vol. II. p. 51.

^f Snelling's MS List. Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^g Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors. He seems to have been appointed for the special purpose of assaying the base Coinage for Ireland.

^h Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

ⁱ Id. fol. 25.

^k Lansdown MSS. vol. LXV. No 6. He succeeded his father, who is called late Assayer.

^l Snelling's MS List of Officers. Reynolds (so his name should be written) calculated Tables to cast up Silver and Gold. I know not when they were first published, but they appear at the end of the second edition of the "New Touchstone for Gold and Silver Wares" [London, 1679, 8vo], where they are said to be taken from a printed copy corrected by him, with his hand to testify the same.

^m Rymer, XVII. 19.

Anno

CHARLES I.

1. Andrew Palmer and George Turnerⁿ.
3. Andrew Palmer^o.
12. George Turner and others were appointed to the office Magistrorum Assaiarum Auri & Argenti cunati & Bullionis infra Minetam infra Turrim London', ad vitas, Jul. 11 P.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Andrew Palmer and Thomas Woodward^q.

CHARLES II.

Sir John Brattle^r.

JAMES II.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

3. Sir John Brattle^s.
- Daniel Brattle.
- Charles Brattle^t.

ANNE.

ⁿ Rymer, XVIII. 6.

^o Commons Journals, I. 918. In this year Henry Cogan had the reversion of this place, and also that of Comptroller, granted to him. He was joint Comptroller in 1639; but I have not found that he was ever Assayer. ^p Rymer, XIX. 203.

^q Commons Journals, *sub anno* 1649.

^r Snelling's MS List under this reign, but without date.

^s Sir John Brattle, a worthy person, and who hath long enjoyed a considerable office in the Royal Mint. [Dr. Walker's Account of *ΕΙΣΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, 4to. London, 1691, p. 19.]

^t Snelling's MS List gives these two names, but without dates.

GEORGE I.

3. Charles Brattle ^u.
 9—12. Hopton Haynes ^w.

GEORGE II.

2. Hopton Haynes ^x.
 7. Joshua White.
 — Whitaker ^y.
 19—24. Joseph Harris ^z.
 24. — Lucas ^a.

GEORGE III.

4. Joseph Harris ^b.
 4. Joseph Lucas ^c.
 29. Stanesby Alchorne ^d.
 38. Robert Bingley ^e.

Of the OFFICE of CUNEATOR.

Another Officer, of great importance in early times, bore the title of Cuneator. This office was hereditary, and, as far as I have discovered, the only one in the Mint which was so. The Engravers of the Dies seem to have been appointed by him, and to have been under his immediate cognisance. By

^u Snelling's MS List. ^w Id.

^x True State of England, 8vo, London, 1729.

^y Snelling's MS List.

^z Gent. Mag. February 1749, on the resignation of Haynes, p. 93. ^a Snelling's MS List ; but qu. if correct ?

^b He died Sept. 26, 1764. Gent. Mag. p. 450.

^{c d e} From the information of Robert Bingley, Esq. who was the Master's Assayer in 1798, and succeeded Mr. Alchorne as King's Assay Master.

him they were presented to the Barons of the Exchequer, before whom they took the usual oath of office; and it was probably his duty to see that all the Dies, as well those which were used in the paramount Mint in the Tower of London as those which were issued from thence to the subordinate Mints, were of the same type^f. This was a circumstance of high moment whilst so many Mints were allowed to be worked in various parts of the kingdom; but when they were abolished, and the Mint in the Tower became the only source from whence the Coins were derived, this precaution was no longer necessary, and the office soon sunk into disuse.

I have not been able to trace it to its origin, but conceive that it is of high antiquity, as the necessity for its establishment must have been nearly coëval with the earliest appointment of any branches of the Royal Mint, to be fixed at a distance from it.

In Domesday Book the name of Otto, a Goldsmith, occurs as holding lands in Essex and Suffolk. It is probable that he was the father of Otto the younger, to whom Henry I., in the early part of his reign, restored the Mystery of the Dies which his

^f Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. II. p. 88. and 89. He claimed the old and broken Dies as his fee; which claim was allowed to Thomas Fitz Oto, in the 49th year of Henry III. on his petition to the King in the Court of Exchequer, that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. This, upon examination, was found to be true. [Madox, II. p. 11.]

^g Vol. II. folios 3. b. 97. b. 106. b. in Essex; and 28. b. in Suffolk. Kelham says positively, that he was ancestor of Thomas Fitz Otho, *Mint Master*, or *Engraver* for the King's Mint; and that the last of the male line died in 1282. Domesday Book illustrated, p. 132, quoting Morant, vol. II. p. 305.

father had held, together with all other his offices, and certain lands, &c.^b

These he afterwards confirmed to William Fitz Otto, Goldsmith, together with other lands which his father had possessed, on condition that he should perform the duties of the office, which Otho the Goldsmith had executedⁱ.

In the 6th of John, William Fitz Otho was commanded by Writ to make the Dies for the Royal and Episcopal Mints at Chichester^k; and in the 27th year of Henry III. he presented before the Barons of the Exchequer Richard Abel, Goldsmith, to be Maker and Cutter of the Money Dies^l.

Towards the latter end of that reign some doubts appear to have arisen respecting the nature of the tenure by which this office was held; for, in his 41st year, the King commanded the Barons of the Exchequer that, after examining the Rolls of that Court, they should without delay inform him what kind of Serjeanty Otto Fitz William, then dead, had held on account of the custody of the King's Die in England, whether in fee, or *ex gratia*, or for the term of his life; and by what service; who was his heir,

^b Cart. Antiq. in Tur. Lond. Y. No 17. directed to Maurice Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1085, and died in 1107, the 7th of H. I. It was probably on account of some dispute respecting his office that in the 18th year of the same King William Fitz Otho paid into the Exchequer xxxvj*l.* and *xd.* that he might no longer have a Master over him. [Mag. Rot. vulgo 5 Step. Rot. 15. a. Londonia. Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I. p. 476.]

ⁱ Cart. Antiq. Y. No 20. directed to Richard Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1108, and died in 1127, the 27th of Hen. I.

^k Cl. 6 Joh. m. 1. From a Mint Account in the Exchequer it appears that in the 1st E. III. he was entitled to receive from the King seven shillings for every twelve dies. ^l Madox, II. 88.

and of what age. And whether the said Otto held of the King any land not belonging to that Serjeanty, and how much, and where, and by what service, &c.^m I have not discovered the Return to this Writ; but it will be seen, a little lower down, that he held by Petit Serjeanty.

In the 49th of Henry III. Thomas Fitz Otho claimed, in the Court of Exchequer, the broken Dies, as belonging to him of inheritance, and had his claim allowedⁿ; and in the 52d year he presented before the Barons Ralph le Blund to the office of Cutter of the King's Dies^o.

When Edward I., in his 8th year, appointed William de Turnemire to make his Coins for that present time, the King took upon himself the payment of the fee which Hugh Fitz Otho, guardian of Otho his nephew, claimed for keeping the Dies; or otherwise to satisfy him for the same^p.

In the 22d year of the same King it was found that Otho Fitz William held of King Henry III. the Manor of Lilleston in the County of Middlesex, *in capite*, by the Serjeanty of keeping the King's Money Stamp; but that the Master of the Knights Templars then held that Manor^q.

It is certain, however, that the Serjeanty still continued in Otho's Family, although the Manor, held in virtue of it, was by some means separated; and it remained with them until John de Boutetourt, Lord

^m Madox, Baronia, p. 249.

ⁿ Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 11.

^o Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 69.

^p Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247.

^q Beckwith's Edition of Blount's Tenures, p. 129, referring to Plac. Coron. 22 E. I.

of Willy, became possessed of it by his marriage with Maud^r, the heiress of her brother Hugh Fitz Otho, Lord of Mendlesham in Suffolk, in the 30th year of Edward I.^s After the death of Lord Boute-tourt, in the 18th year of Edward II., Maud his widow sold this office to William Lord Latimer, for himself and his heirs, in the 3d year of Edward III. As he made that purchase without the King's License having been first obtained, he was obliged to sue out his pardon; which was allowed; and the King further granted for himself and his heirs, as far as he had power, that the said William should have and hold, for himself and his heirs for ever, the said office of the King and his heirs, by the service due and accustomed, without any impediment, &c.^t

After this he seems to have enjoyed his office quietly until about the 27th year of Edward III. when he presented a Petition to the King in Parliament, stating that the office of Engraver and Maker of the King's Dies in the Tower of London and City of Canterbury belonged to him and his heirs, as plainly appeared by divers evidences; that of late he had been disturbed by the King's Servants in having and using the said office, touching the Coins of Noble, Half and Farthing Noble, and the Groat; because the said Coins were then but newly commenced. He therefore prayed that the King would

^r She was the daughter and heiress of Thomas Fitz Otho. [Mint Account in the Exchequer, 1 E. III.]

^s *Magna Britannia*, vol. V. p. 210. This Hugh Fitz Otho procured from Edward I. the privilege of a Market and Fair to Mendlesham. Dugdale's *Baronage*, II. 46.

^t Pat. 3 E. III. pt. 1. m. 18.

please to command full inquiry to be made, in that Parliament, touching the same, and do right and reason to him, on the consideration that he had possession of the said office before such Coins were made. In consequence of this Petition he was commanded to produce his Charters and other evidences^u.

The further proceedings do not appear; but it should seem that the determination was favourable to the Petitioner, as the office was confirmed to him, about twenty years afterward, without any exception of the Coins above-mentioned^w.

He held this office until his death in the 4th year of Richard II.^x; after which I have not met with any thing further relating to it. In the 12th year of the same reign the Engraver of the Dies was appointed by the King^y.

A Seal of William Fitz Otho has been engraven as if it were his Seal of Office, but I believe without due consideration. It represents him sitting in an antique chair, with a sword in his left hand, and in the right an instrument which has been supposed to be intended for the coining-hammer. Its form is however very ill calculated for that purpose, as it resembles a common pickaxe, the head of which is sharp pointed at both ends^z.

^u Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. The instrument is without date; but, from the mention of Groats as new Coins, it was probably issued soon after the 27th E. III., when those Coins first appear in the Indentures.

^w Pat. 47 E. III. pt. 2. m. 15.

^x Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 32. He left a daughter and heiress, Elizabeth wife of John Lord Nevill of Raby. It does not appear that the office descended to her.

^y See London Mint, under that year.

^z In Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 551, is a rude

The inscription on the Seal is, ✠ SIGIL - - - - - WILLELMI FILII OTH, without any reference to his office; so that there is nothing upon the face of it to warrant the appropriation which has been made^a; nor does it appear from any record, yet discovered, that a Seal of Office was ever granted.

Pinchbeck's Register of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury divides the duties of this office between two persons: — "In Cambio Londini ad cuneos Regis custodiendos duos sunt intendentes; unus, viz. ex parte Regis, qui ferrum & asserum emere debet, & a Fabro usque ad manus Sculptoris lamina ferrea formata portare; ipsosque cuneos sculptos, et rite paratos, quotiens cudere & monetare necesse fuerit, deliberare; & Monetarios, ut apertè flodones cudant, supervidere; et alius ex parte D. Johannis de Buturtis, qui habet in uxorem filiam & hæredem Thomæ filii Ottonis, cujus est de feodo cudere cuneos Regis, qui deserviunt per totam Angliam, qui capit pro sculptura & fabricatura cujuslibet duodenæ VIIIS. cujus vero officium est cuneos usitatos deformare, ne amplius deserviant, & penès se omnes veteres cuneos ad opus Domini, ut pro feodo suo, retinere." ^b

representation of a duel, in which each of the combatants is armed with a weapon precisely similar to that described above.

^a See Bibl. Topog. Britannica, N^o XX. p. 63, and Mr. Gough's Letter, Gent. Mag. April 1796, p. 289.

This Seal was first engraven by Vertue, and is said to have been copied from the original in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; but upon enquiry being made there about a dozen years since by Mr. Gough, at my desire, the Seal was not to be found. It was published with the Latin Poems of Nicholas Hardinge, Esq. by his son George Hardinge, Esq. in 1780. See Gent. Mag. as referred to above, where a copy of Vertue's Engraving is given.

^b Pinchbeck's Register. Appendix to Batteley's Antiq. S.

The former of these officers I have not met with elsewhere; and suspect that there is some inaccuracy in the above statement. If the latter part of it be correct, the Engravers were actually Working Deputies to the Cuneatores. It is, however, scarcely possible to form a decided opinion upon the nature of this office from the few circumstances concerning it which at this time remain upon record.

The high rank of some of those persons who held it, and the manner in which they presented the Engravers to the Barons of the Exchequer (not as if they were their Deputies, but as Officers actually appointed by them), almost forbids the supposition that they could be the mere Engravers and Formers of the Dies; and yet they are so stated to be even as early as the reign of Henry I., and also as late as the Petition of Lord Latimer, in the 27th year of Edward III., which has been detailed above. They must therefore be inserted in the List of Engravers until something more decisive can be obtained concerning them.

Of the DUTIES of the ENGRAVERS.

They are not to make Dies in any other place but in the Tower.

They are to deliver monthly the faulty Dies to the Clerk of the Irons, to be defaced in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, and not otherwise ^c.

Edm. Burgi, No X. p. 135. What is there printed as a note forms part of the text in Kempe's Register. Harl. MSS. No 645, fol. 137.

^c From the St. Edmundsbury Register it appears that this was expressly the duty of the Cuneator, without any reference to the Officers above-mentioned.

ENGRAVERS, SMITHS, WORKMEN, and LABOURERS.

As many of these as shall seem needful, the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, or either of them, may engage at the King's price to work in the Mint; and they are to be punished and removed at the discretion of those Officers.

They are also enjoined to work when required by them, on pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment^d.

A LIST of ENGRAVERS of the MINT.**Anno****WILLIAM I. or II. ?**

Some time
previous to
the seventh
of Henry I.

} Otto the Elder.

HENRY I.

Otto the Younger^e.

William Fitz Otto^f.

JOHN.

6. William Fitz Otho^g.

HENRY III.

6. Mich. de St. Elene^h.

^d Pollett's MS. Various instances are to be found, in the History of our Coinage, which shew that in old times these Officers had authority to take Workmen into the Mint by force, in case of refusal.

^e Cart. Antiq. in Tur. Lond. Y. N^o 17, before 7 Hen. I.

^f Id. N^o 20. between 8 and 27 H. I.

^g Cl. 6 Joh. m. I.

^h Snelling's MS List of Officers.

Anno HENRY III. (*continued.*)

27. William Fitz Othoⁱ.

Richard Abel^k.

49. Thomas Fitz Otho^l.

52 or 53. Ralph le Blund^m.

EDWARD I.

8. Hugh Fitz Otho, for his Nephew Othoⁿ.

18. Thomas Fitz Otho, Die Graver in Fee^o.

22. Otho Fitz William^p.

30. John Lord Boutetort^q.

EDWARD II.

EDWARD III.

3. William Lord Latimer^r.

27—47. Idem^s.

RICHARD II.

12. Jo. Edmund, Goldsmith, appointed by the King^t.

HENRY IV.

ⁱ He was dead 41 H. III. Madox, Baronia, p. 249, where he is called Otto Fitz William.

^k Madox, II. 88. Abel was then presented in the Exchequer by Fitz Otho. ^l Madox, II. 11. ^m Id. p. 89.

ⁿ Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247.

^o Mag. Rot. 18 E. I. Rot. 1. a. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 85.

^p Beckwith's Blount's Tenures, p. 129. Probably for William Fitz Otho. ^q Magna Britannia, vol. V. p. 210.

^r Pat. 3 E. III. pt. 1. m. 18.

^s Bundle in the Tower, unclassed, and Pat. 47 E. III. pt. 2. m. 15. ad Officium Sculpture & Fabrice Cuneorum Regis in Tur. Lond. & in Cantuar.

^t Cl. 12 R. II. m. 25. See London Mint.

Anno HENRY V.

9. Gilbert Vanbranburgh ^u.

HENRY VI.

1—9. Gilbert Brandeburgh, or Guysbryght van Brondeburgh ^w.

10—19. John Orewell ^x.

32. William Wodeward, London and Calais ^y.

39. German Lynch, Master of the Mint in Ireland, and Graver of the Puncheons ^z.

EDWARD IV.

2. Edmund Shaa, London and Calais ^a.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

1. John Shaa ^b.

HENRY VII.

2. Nicholas Flynte, Sculptor de & pro ferris ^c.

HENRY VIII.

1—4. John Sharpe ^d.

— Demaire ^e.

^u Pat. 9 H. V. pt. 2. m. 6. dors.

^w Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. He was appointed, by Letters Patent, Sculptor of the Dies, of Gold and Silver, within the Tower of London, where he was to reside, a house being assigned to him, with a stipend of £20 per annum. [Memor. 3 H. VI. Hil. m. 6.]

^x Mint Accounts.

^y Cl. 32 H. VI. m. 30.

^z Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 7.

^a Cl. 2 E. IV. m. 25.

^b Graver of the Coining Irons of Gold and Silver within England and Calais.

^c Mint Accounts.

^d Id.

^e Extract from the Note Book of James West, Esq. communi-

Anno

EDWARD VI.

6. Deric Anthonie ^f.

PHILIP AND MARY.

Vincentius ^g.

ELIZABETH.

2—18. Derick Anthony ^h.
Menestrelle ⁱ.

JAMES I.

8. Charles Anthony ^k.
John Dicker ^l.

CHARLES I.

3—8. Nicholas Briot ^m.
5. Edward Greene ⁿ.
21. Thomas Simon ^o.
23. Thomas Rawlins ^p.

cated by my friend John Nichols, Esq. I do not find this Engraver in the Anecdotes of Painting.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 51. He is said to have succeeded Robert, lately deceased.

^g Mr. West's Note Book. ^h Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

ⁱ Mr. West's Note Book. Qu. whether Eloy Menestrell, who was hanged for false coining in 1658? but does not appear to have been Engraver to the Mint. ^{k l} Snelling's MS List.

^m Rymer, XIX. 40. and 256.

ⁿ Id. p. 254.

^o Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 61.

^p Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. II. p. 257. Langbaine says he was Engraver both to Charles I. and II. Dramatick Poets, p. 424. He engraved the Oxford Crown. See Explanation of Plate XXIV. of Silver Coins, No 1. At the beginning of this reign Abraham Vanderdort had a salary for making Patterns for his Majesty's Coins, and for giving his assistance to the Engravers, and his furtherance, that they might be well engraven according to their abilities. [Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. II. p. 80.]

Anno COMMONWEALTH.

1. Thomas Simon
- ^q
- .

CROMWELL.

2. Thomas Simon
- ^r
- .

CHARLES II.

12. Thomas Simon
- ^s
- .

John Roetier.

James Roetier.

Norbier, or Norbert, Roetier.

Philip Roetier.

Joseph Roetier ^t.

14. Thomas Simon and John Roetier
- ^u
- .

32. Henry Harris
- ^w
- .

JAMES II.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1. Three Roetiers
- ^x
- .

ANNE.

4. John Croker.

Samuel Bull.

Gabriel Clerk ^y.

GEORGE I.

12. Samuel Bull
- ^z
- .

John Croker ^a.^q Commons Journals.^r Folkes, p. 100.^s Vertue, p. 84.^t Snelling's MS List.^u Folkes, p. 106.^w Snelling's MS List.^x Lansdown MS. vol. 246.^y Snelling's MS List.^z Id.^a Croker continued to be Mint Master from his appointment by Queen Anne until his death in 1740, when he was succeeded

Anno

GEORGE II.

John Croker^b.1. John Rolles^c.Berésford^d.2—13. J. Sigismund Tanner^e.14. James Anthony Dassier^f.Richard Yeo^g.J. Ralph Ocks, jun.^h

15. Sigismund Tanner, John Ralph Ocks, John Tanner.

22. Jo. Sig. Tanner, Jo. Ralph Ocks, and Ja. Ant. Dassier.

23. Tanner, Dassier, and Yeoman.

24. Tanner, Dassier, Yeoman, Rich. Yeo.

25. Tanner and Yeo.

28. Tanner, Yeo, and Ja. Ant. Dassier.

31. Tanner, Yeo, Ocksⁱ.

GEORGE III.

4. Laurence Natter.

11. Thomas Pingo^k.

19. Lewis Pingo, Chief.

by Dessier. *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. IV. p. 218. Another MS List by Snelling has under the last year of G. I. and the first of G. II.

Croker, Rolles, Ocks.

Croker, Ocks, Tanner.

^b See the last Note.

^c Snelling's MS List says that Rolles is mentioned in this year; but he thinks that he quitted the Mint at this time for Seal-engraving.

^d Snelling's MS List.^e Id.

^{f g h} Id. Some of these must have been Under-Engravers, or Assistants; but Snelling has not distinguished them.

ⁱ Snelling's MS List.^k Id.

Anno GEORGE III. (*continued.*)

27. John Pingo, Assistant.

37. Nathaniel Marchant, Probationer¹.

Thomas Wyon.

58. William Wyon.

Modeller.

Signor Pistrucci.

When the Dies were finished by the Engraver they were delivered to another Officer, whose title was Custos Cunei, vel Cuneorum, or the Keeper of the Die or Dies; now Clerk of the Irons.

The precise duties of this office I have not been able to ascertain, but it was clearly distinct from that of the Custos Monetæ; for in the 6th year of Henry III. the Custodes Monetæ and the Custodes Cuneorum were sworn at the same time before the Barons of the Exchequer^m.

The Dies are now in the care of the Surveyor of the Money Presses.

Formerly a certain rent was paid for the Dies; and the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were sometimes authorized to let them, and to take a fine upon the entrance into office, for the King's advantageⁿ.

¹ Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supp. (B).

^m Madox, Hist. Excheq. II. 87.

ⁿ Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14.

A LIST of the KEEPERS of the DIES.

Anno

HENRY II.

8. At the decease of Abbat Sylvester, A. D. 1161, Elverd Porrere had the Custody of the Die belonging to the Mint in the Abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury^o.

HENRY III.

6. Adam Blundus, Randulphus de Hanore, Walterus Polite, Willelmus Rufus, Willelmus de Lindesie, Ric[ardus] de Nekinton, Nich[olaus] Orbatur, Ric[ardus] Orbatur^p.
14. William, the King's Taylor, Custos Cunei, Canterbury^q.
21. Adam Mercer, the same^r.
22. Lambine Dravet, the same^s.
30. John Hardell, Custos Cunei^t.
32. Walter de Mora, Custos Cuneorum^u.
33. John Juvenal, Custos Cunei^v.
39. William de Gloucester, Goldsmith, Custos Cunei^x.
40. John Terri, Custos Cunei, Canterbury^y.
- William Cokyn, the same^z.

^o Chron. W. Thorn. Col. 1816.

^p Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.

^q Pat. 14 H. III. pt. 2. m. 3. He succeeded Simon Chich, deceased.

^r Madox, Hist. Ex. II. 83.

^s Madox, Hist. Ex. II. 88.

^t Madox, Hist. Ex. II. 88. He succeeded Walter le Flemeng, deceased.

^u Id. ibid.

^v Id. p. 89.

^x Pat. 39 H. III. m. 8. He succeeded Richard de Sancto Albano.

^y Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14. His appointment is to one of the King's Dies in the Mint of Canterbury. The two persons following had likewise the custody of single Dies only.

^z Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14.

Anno HENRY III. (*continued.*)

Robert de Cambro, the same ^a.

41. William de Gloucester, Custos Cunei, Canterbury ^b.

52. William le Shrub, Custos Cunei, St. Edmundsbury, for the Abbot ^c.

EDWARD I.

4 and 5. Jocce the Goldsmith, Custos Cunei, St. Edmundsbury, for the Abbot ^d.

27—29. William Wymondham, Custos Cuneorum, et Cambii, Lond. and Cant. ^e.

EDWARD II.

1. John de Everdon, Custos Cuneorum ^f.

7. Peter de la Posterle, Custos Cuneorum, Bourdeaux ^g.

EDWARD III.

1. Reymond de Lincoln, Custos Cuneorum, Lond. and Cant. ^h.

21. William de Salop, Custos Cuneorum and Assaiator, Calais ⁱ.

23—25. William de Huseburn, or Husshburn, Custos Cuneorum, Lond. and Cant. ^k.

^a Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14.

^b Pat. 41 H. III. m. 1. He succeeded to the custody of that Die which had been held by Robert de Cantuar'.

^c Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 89.

^d Id. p. 90.

^e Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^f Id.

^g See that Mint.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Rot. Franc. 21 E. III. pt. 2. m. 4.

^k Mint Accounts. In the 25th year he was ordered to deliver all the old Dies of the Money last made to the Masters of the Mint, that they might be made new, according to the King's Ordinance. [Cl. 25 E. III. m. 17.]

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued.*)

24. Robert Mildenhale, Custos Cuneorum¹.

John de Salesbury^m.

RICHARD II.

5—20. Stephen Rummylowe, Custos Cuneorum
aur. & arg. Lond. & Cant.ⁿ

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

10. Richard Bokeland, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^o.

HENRY VI.

1. John Kempley, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^p.

20. John Langton, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^q.

23—25. John Langton and Walter Aumener, Custodes Cuneorum, Calais^r.

CUSTOS CUNAGII.

Another Officer occurs with the title of Custos Cunagii, or Custos Cunagiorum, Auri & Argenti. I have not been able to discover any thing respecting the nature of his office.

¹ Mint Accounts.

^m It appears that he held this office at the death of Edward III.; for in the 1st R. II. he was commanded to deliver all the Dies in his custody to Thomas Hervy [then Warden]. He and William de Husburn were appointed by E. III. for life. [Pat. 5 R. II. pt. 1. m. 11.]

ⁿ Pat. 5 R. II. pt. 1. m. 11. and Mint Accounts.

^o Rot. Franc. 10 H. V. m. 3.

^p Rot. Franc. 1 H. VI. m. 20.

^q Rot. Franc. 20 H. VI. m. 21.

^r Rot. Franc. 25 H. VI. m. 20.

A LIST of the CUSTODES CUNAGII.

Anno

HENRY IV.

- 3 and 4. Robert Hethcote, Custos Cunagiorum ^s.
 5. Lodowick Reconche, Custos Cunagiorum Auri
 & Argenti ^t.
 13. Henry Somer, Custos Cambii, Monete, & Cu-
 nagii ^u.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

- 18—24. John Somerseth, Custos Cunagiorum ^w.
 25—27. John Lematon, the same ^x.
 28—30. Thomas Montgomery, the same ^y.

EDWARD IV.

9. John Wode, Custos Cunagiorum ^z.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—7. William Stafford, Custos Cunagii Auri &
 Argenti ^a.
 1. Giles Lord Dawbeney and Bartholomew Reede,
 Magistri Cunagii ^b.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.^t Id.^u Id.^w Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.^x Id.^y Id.^z Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^a Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. In this Account Stafford
 is called Custos Cambii & Monete & Custos Cunagii; so that
 the three were distinct offices.

^b Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

Anno HENRY VIII.

3—7. William Stafford, as before ^c.

4. John Coppinger ^d.

26. Thomas Pope ^e.

SURVEYOR of the MELTINGS.

His duty is to survey the Meltings, and to keep a Book of Gold and Silver, and Allay ^f.

In the first Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider the Publick Offices [1810] it is said, that this place would admit of being brought, at the expiration of the existing interests, entirely under the management of the Deputy, as now constituted; but that the degree of responsibility or trouble attending the discharge of the whole duties would entitle the Deputy to an increase of Salary. The Deputy's Salary is stated to be £.28, the Principal's £.103.

Very few names of the persons who have held this office can, at this time, be recovered. The following are all that I have met with.

Anno ELIZABETH.

18. Thomas Johnson. He is called Surveyor of the Melting House ^g.

^c Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^d Warton's History of Sir Thomas Pope, Appendix, No III. It is there stated that a grant had been made to Coppinger of the Office and Custody Cunagiorum Auri & Argenti.

^e Warton's Sir Thomas Pope, *ubi supra*.

^f Pollett's MS.

^g Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 120.

Anno JAMES I.

15. Paule Swallow^h.

CHARLES I.

17. James Hoare, also Clerk of the Ironsⁱ.

CHARLES II.

23. Thomas Swallow^k.

34. George Evans^l.

JAMES II.

3. George Evans^m.

WILLIAM and MARY.

12. George Evansⁿ.

ANNE.

1. George Evans^o.

6. William Evans^p.

GEORGE I.

1. Major-General Evans^q.

GEORGE II.

2. Lieutenant-General Evans^r.

8. William Evans, Esq.^s

13. General Evans^t.

14^u—29. George Augustus Selwyn, also Clerk of the Irons^w.

^h Rymer, XVII. 19.

ⁱ Id. p. 542.

^{k l m n o p q} Snelling's MS List.

^r True State of England, 8vo. 1729.

^s Snelling's MS List.

^t Id.

^u Id.

^w Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

Anno

GEORGE III.

- 1—31. George Augustus Selwyn, as before ^x.
 31—38. Honourable Spencer Perceval, the same ^y.

The CLERK of the IRONS.

It is his duty to keep an account of all the Blank Dies which are delivered to the Graver, and sunk, stamped, and hardened by him.

He is also to give an account to the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, when required, what Blank Dies have been delivered to the Graver, sunk, hardened, worn out, returned, or remaining in hand, that account may be kept ^z.

The following names only have occurred :

Anno

ELIZABETH.

18. Robert Hornby ^a.

CHARLES I.

17. James Hoare, also Surveyor of the Melting House ^b.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Richard Pight ^c.

^x Annual Register, 1791, p. 7*. He died on the 25th of January in that year.

^y Report of Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^z Pollett's MS.

^a Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 120.

^b Rymer, XIX. 542.

^c Commons Journals.

Anno GEORGE I.

4. Major-General Evans^d.

GEORGE II.

29. George Augustus Selwyn, also Surveyor of the Meltings^e.

GEORGE III.

1—31. The same^f.

31—38. Honourable Spencer Perceval, both offices^g.

By the Indenture of the 55th year this office merged into that of the Superintendent of the Machinery.

Of the MONEYERS.

It has been already observed that, with the exception of a single instance in the reign of Cnut^h, the Moneyers appear to have been the sole Officers in the early Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Mints. Their rank has been the subject of much controversy. By some they have been elevated to the dignity of Noblemenⁱ, whilst others have depressed them to the state of mere Workmen.

^d Snelling's MS List.

^e Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^f Annual Register, 1791, p. 7*. He died Jan. 25 in that year.

^g Report of Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^h Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134. cap. 8.

ⁱ Thwaite's Notæ in Ang. Sax. Num. Sir A. Fountaine, Numismata Ang. Sax. Thoresby's Museum. Hearne's Preface to Johan. Glaston. Chron.

Wise, Num. Bodl. p. 230. Pegge's Assemblage, p. 73.

That they were not of the highest class is evident from their number, which sometimes amounted to three or four hundred^k; and we are forbidden to reduce them to the lowest, from the circumstance of their names being impressed upon the Coins, as that could be done only as a security that the integrity of the Money should be preserved; and what effectual security could the name of a common Workman give? The very considerable fine of twelve Oras, to which an offending Moneyer was liable by the laws of Aethelred, also forbids us to consider them as in a very low station^l. It appears, likewise, from Bromton's translation of the same Laws that they had Workmen under them^m.

It must be confessed, however, that the question of their precise rank is by no means of easy solution, though it may be concluded not to be of high elevation, from the following facts.

In the reign of Eadgar, if Eadmer be correct in his description of them at that period, they ranked with the Villeins, for he says they were "*Viri qui in potestate erant*"ⁿ; that is, men who were in the power of their Lord^o.

^k See the List of Edward the Confessor's Moneyers.

^l Wilkins, p. 118.

^m Col. 899.

ⁿ Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. II. p. 216. See the whole of this curious anecdote under the reign of Eadgar.

^o Vide Du Cange, sub voce *Homines potestatis*, vol. V. col. 710. My friend Mr. Henry Petrie (whose opinion upon whatever relates to the early history of this Kingdom is entitled to the highest consideration) has suggested that the term *Vir* is never applied to Villeins by writers of the middle age, but that *Homo* is invariably used in such case; and therefore that *Viri*, in the text, either must signify men of some rank, or it must be applied to St. Dunstan, with the meaning that they were possibly his Mo-

It is remarkable, likewise, that no Moneyer is to be found amongst the King's Tenants *in capite* which are entered in Domesday Book; though his officers of various ranks occur there.

In the reign of Henry I., however, they must have possessed considerable wealth, whatever their rank might be, if the exclamation of William Gemeticensis is to be taken literally; for he says that the King might have received immense sums, for the redemption of the limbs of those Moneyers who were condemned to punishment as false Coiners; but the whole passage is in so high a strain of panegyrick, that it must, probably, be received with some degree of allowance.

It may be observed here, by the way, that neither in this, nor in the following reign, when severe punishments were inflicted on the Moneyers, were any of their names preserved, either in the Records of those times, or by the Chroniclers who afterwards related the transactions; which warrants a suspicion that their rank in life was not such as to entitle them to publick personal notice.

Mr. Simon is of opinion that they were not the common Workmen, but the Farmers of the Mint, who gave so much a year to the Prince for the sole privilege of coining in a city or town. Thus, says he, in the Book of Statutes of Charles the Bald, Gofninus, brother to the Castellane of Tournay, is called Monetarius, because he was Dominus Monetæ

neyers, as Archbishop, or in some other way his dependants. I confess myself to be unable to decide the question, and therefore submit it to the judgment of my readers.

P Hist. Normanorum, lib. VIII. p. 304. See the passage at length in the Annals in the reign of Henry I.

Tornacensis, which must imply Master or Farmer, and not Lord, of the Mint of Tournay, for the Mint or right of coining Money did then belong to the Bishop of that place. And as these Farmers or Mint Masters were answerable for the weight and purity of the Money struck by them, or the people under them, they were obliged to stamp their name or some private mark on the Monies of their respective Coinage^q.

But however just this his conclusion may possibly be with respect to France, it cannot be admitted to apply to our English Mints, where, as it appears from Domesday Book, there were sometimes six or seven Moneyers belonging to the same Mint; for it is not probable there should have been at one time so many Farmers of it^r.

The entries in that Record, slight as they are, will, I think, enable us to form a tolerable judgment of the actual rank of the Moneyer, and the nature of his office, about the latter end of the 11th century; and also to infer the probable state of both, prior and subsequent to that period; as it is not known that any change took place about that time, or for some years afterward.

From that authentic document we learn, that in some cases the Moneyers were allowed houses, rent free, whilst they continued to work^s: —

That in others they were obliged to march with the Vicecomes, when he went with the Army, or to pay a fine upon refusal^t: —

^q Essay on Irish Coins, p. 6, note *.

^r See volume I. folio 179 and 262. b.

^s Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 56.

^t Id. folio 179.

That whenever the King should come to the place where the Mint was kept, they were obliged to coin as much Money as he pleased, out of his Silver^v:—

That they had Sac and Soc^u:—

That when any one of them died, the King had a certain sum for a Relief; and if he did not devise his property, it devolved to the King^w:—

That they paid a certain annual rent to the King^x, and also a kind of fine upon every renewal of the Money, for the new Dies, which were sent to them from London^y.

These data will, I think, lead to the conclusion that men in such a situation could not be Magnates; whilst the trust which was reposed in them raises them above the level of common Workmen.

A very accurate Numismatick Antiquary says, "There are many reasons to believe that the Saxon Kings were always attended by Monetarii, who frequently coined Money for present exigencies in towns where the King rested; which will account for our finding Money minted in obscure places, and that perhaps only once." ^z

I know not of what kind the many reasons might be which he has alluded to above, but it will not be easy to assign one more satisfactory, than that which he has given, for the appearance of Towns of such little importance under the character of Mints.

^v Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 179.

^u Id. *ibid.*

^w Id. *ibid.*

^x Id. folios 203, 230, 280, and vol. II. 106, b. 290.

^y Id. folios 26, 75, 172, 179, 252. It seems that a part of this fine was paid sometimes before, and sometimes after the receipt of the Dies, and the remainder within a certain number of days afterward. See folios 172, 179, and 252.

^z Mr. North's MSS. *penes Aut.*

The custom of placing the Moneyer's name upon the Coins prevailed at a very early period in this Island; indeed we find it upon the Money of Eggerht King of Kent, which is the second, in point of antiquity, in the Anglo-Saxon series, and must be dated about the middle of the seventh century. It was usually stamped upon the Reverse of the Coin, but in some few instances it is found upon the Obverse, whilst the name of the Monarch is removed to the other side^a. The names of two Moneyers sometimes occur upon the same Coin^b.

From the time of Aethelstan, with some few exceptions only, the name of the Town was added, probably in conformity to his law, that the Money should be coined within some Town^c.

The name of the Moneyer is to be found no lower than the reign of Edward I., but that of the Mint was not entirely disused in the last year of Elizabeth.

These Officers do not appear to have possessed any exclusive privileges at a very early period, but rather in some instances to have been more restrained than some others; for in the first year of Henry II., when he confirmed to the Citizens of London that they should not plead beyond the walls of their City, except in the case of foreign tenures, the King's Moneyers and his Servants were particularly excluded^d.

^a As upon some of the Coins of Offa and his Queen.

^b As on the Reverse of one of Aelfred's Pennies. See the List of his Moneyers. Mr. Miles obligingly communicated a Penny (of the same type as No 3 of Eric's Money, Plate XI.) which reads — Obv.  ELTANGERHT. Rev. BERNART. These should seem to be the name of a Moneyer on each side.

^c Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 59.

^d Wilkins, Leges Ang. Sax. p. 319. The same exception with

They likewise were assessed, as others were, to Aids and Tallages. Thus in the 5th year of Henry H. the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk accounted in the Exchequer for xxxij*l.* vjs. and viij*d.* for the Moneyers of Norwich, and for five Marks for the Moneyers of Thetford; such being the amount of their Donums^e. In his 14th year, Achard the Moneyer paid one hundred Shillings, Lefwine Besant five Marks, and Ailwine Finch two Marks, to the Aid for marrying the King's daughter^f. At the same time, and on the same account, Thurstan, and William son of Derewold, and William de Wiclewood, Moneyers of Thetford, paid five Marks and a half, and the Moneyers of Norwich ten Marks^g. In his 33d year, however, the Moneyers of York had the indulgence of not being included with the other Citizens in the Donum which was required of that City^h.

But this appears to have been a particular favour at that time, and was probably extended to those persons only; for in the 4th year of John, when a Tallage was made *per capita* in the City of Lincoln, Lefuin the Moneyer was charged with five Marksⁱ.

Yet it could not be long after this that they received a Grant of peculiar privileges, as is evident from a Writ, which bears date in the 18th year of Henry III., and commands the Mayor, &c. of London not to trouble or disturb the King's Moneyers

respect to the Moneyers of Winchester occurs 1 R. I. in Cart. Antiq. R. N^o 30. N. 19. Brady on Burghs, Appendix, p. 45.

^e Madox, Hist. Exch. I. 322.

^f Id. p. 589.

^g Id. *ibid.* See other instances in Madox, I. 284 and 696.

^h Id. p. 635.

ⁱ Id. p. 737.

of London, by exacting from them Tallages or other Customs contrary to their privileges ^k.

These privileges were, as it seems, then confined to the Moneyers alone, but in the reign of Edward I. they were extended to all the Officers of the Mint; and, after various confirmations, by succeeding Monarchs, were granted to them, as a Corporate Body, in the first year of Elizabeth ^l.

Amongst Snelling's Collections, which, by the kindness of my lamented friend Mr. Gough, are now in my hands, is the following printed Advertisement:—"Whereas the Company of the Moneyers of the Money of England in 1699, and their Representatives, are intituled to an Estate in Devonshire, and to the Rents thereof received for several years past: All such Moneyers and Representatives are desired to meet their Trustee on Wednesday next, the 13th instant, at ten o'clock precisely, at Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange Alley, to receive their several proportions of the said Rents, and to consider about the Sale of the Estate.

"*Note.* The Representatives are desired to bring the Probates of Wills and Administrations under which they make out their claims."

This Advertisement, which has been cut out of some News-paper, is, unfortunately, without date; I am therefore unable to say when it was published. The wording of it is undoubtedly incorrect, for the Moneyers never were a Corporate Body exclusive of the other Officers of the Mint, and therefore it is impossible that they should possess property as a

^k *Claus.* 18 H. III. m. 30.

^l *Harl. MSS.* No 698. p. 29. See above, p. 39.

Company. Or, if they should be allowed to be a Company, by what power could the Moneyers of that day alienate the property ?

The present Duty of these Officers is thus set forth by Mr. Pollett, in the MS. so often referred to:

On pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment they are not to distribute any Coin until it has been delivered into the Office of Receipt, and has been assayed : —

They are enjoined to work whenever required by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, under the like penalty ^m : —

They and their Apprentices are to attend the service, or the Warden, Master, and Comptroller are to punish and expel the offenders ⁿ.

The punishments which were inflicted upon these persons, when they were convicted of having corrupted the Coinage, were, in antient times, dreadfully severe.

By the Anglo-Saxon Laws they were to lose the hand which had committed the offence^o ; but at a later period that infliction was found insufficient to check the practice, and therefore Henry the First added to it the loss of sight and emasculation ^p.

According to Sir Matthew Hale they were guilty of Treason if they made the Coins too light, or not of the fineness required ^q.

^m In the 39th year of Henry II. Walter the Linen-draper was amerced five Marks for refusing to make the King's Money. [Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 560.] ⁿ Pollett's MS.

^o See Cnut's Laws, chap. 8. Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134.

^p See Knyghton, Bromton, Hemingford, Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden, &c.

^q Pleas of the Crown, part I. p. 213.

The Names of the Moneyers, so far as I have been able to recover them, will be found at the end of the reign of each Monarch.

PROVOST of the MONEYERS.

This Officer is the Senior Moneyer, and his office is only a regulation formed by the Moneyers themselves.

Anno HENRY VIII.

35. Richard Harry Yonge^r.

EDWARD VI.

3 and 4. John Germin or Germaine^s.

ELIZABETH.

1. John Munnys^t.
18. Thomas Denham^u.

COMMONWEALTH.

1651. Simon Corbet^w.

CHARLES II.

34. Nicholas Harris^x.

JAMES II.

3. Nicholas Harris^y.

^r Sir Julius Cæsar's MSS. folio 153. See Trial of the Pix under this year.

^s Indenture. Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^t Pat. 1 Eliz. pt. 3. m. 36. dors. The Lansdown MS. calls him Munes.

^u Harl MSS, No 698. folio 120.

^w Snelling's MS.

^x Id.

^y Snelling's MS.

Anno WILLIAM AND MARY.

4—6. Thomas Anderson ^a.8—12. John Braint ^a.

ANNE.

3. The same ^b.

GEORGE I.

1. The same ^c.3. George Russel ^d.13. Richard Collard ^e.

GEORGE II.

1. The same ^f.17—22. Henry Haley ^g.23. — Searle ^h.24—29. Daniel Kemp ⁱ.

GEORGE III.

About 32. Joseph Sage.

The ENGINEER ^k.

CHARLES II.

14. Peter Blondeau. His Patent expired 28 C. II.¹34. Thomas Doyley ^m.

JAMES II.

1—12. The same ⁿ.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

2. — Bowes ^o.^a Snelling's MS.^{b c d e f g h i} Snelling's MS. and Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.^k The Provost of the Moneyers for the time being is now the Engineer also; but I know not when the two offices were united.^{l m n o} Snelling's MS.

SUPERINTENDANT of the MACHINERY.

GEORGE III.

This Office was instituted soon after the introduction of Boulton's machinery into the Mint, under arrangements proposed by the Lords of the Committee of Council for Coin, and approved by an Order in Council, dated July 26, 1809. The first Officer was

50. James Lawson.

58. George Rennie.

The WEIGHER and TELLER.

He weighs the Bullion before it goes to the Moneyers, and after it is coined, to see that it answers ^p.

Anno

EDWARD III.

34. Colin Galliard, Weigher, Rochelle^q.

JAMES I.

2. Edmond Doubleday, Teller^r.

15. Anthony Knyvet, Teller^s.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. The same^t.

^p Pollett's MS.

^q Rot Cales. 34 E. III. pt. 1. m. 6. It gave to him *Officium ponderis Statere seu Balance Monetarum nostrarum*, in Villa Rupella, auree, argenteae, & nigree.

^r MS. *penès* G. Chalmers, Arm.

^s Rymer, XVII. 19.

^t Commons Journals.

Anno CHARLES II.

34. Lancelot Perot ^u.

JAMES II.

3. The same ^w.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

6—12. Thomas Fitch ^x.

ANNE.

1. Hopton Haynes ^y.

GEORGE I.

1—8. The same ^z.

12. ——— Eaglesham ^a.

GEORGE II.

1. The same ^b.

2—29. Captain John Phillips ^c.

GEORGE III.

1—38. Maurice Morgan ^d.

CLERK OF THE PAPERS.

His Duty is to keep the Registers and Records of what is done ^e.

^{u w x y z} Snelling's MS. The first instance which I have found of the union of the two offices of Weigher and Teller occurs in the person of Lancelot Perot. They seem not to have been separated since his time.

^b Snelling's MS.

^c Id. and True State of England, 1729, and Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^d Snelling's MS. and Report of Select Committee on Finance for the year 1797, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^e Pollett's MS.

ANNO COMMONWEALTH.

1. James Howard and John Reinolds^f.

GEORGE II.

2—29. Thomas Hill^g.

GEORGE III.

38. William Dick^h.

OF THE INFERIOR OFFICERS OF THE MINT.

The Names of their respective Offices will be found under the Account of their several Wages and Fees.

All these, together with the Workmen, before they are admitted to a sight of the Milling, take an oath of secrecy in the presence of the Warden; and it is their duty to work when required by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, on pain of disfranchisement and imprisonmentⁱ.

Besides those Offices which have been enumerated above, I have met with slight notices of others, whose exact functions are, in some instances, now entirely unknown. I shall give the fragments which I have collected.

CLERK OF THE MINT.

EDWARD I.

John de Maydenstane^k.

^f Commons Journals.

^g True State of England, 1729, and Maitland as before.

^h Report of Select Committee on Finance, as above. He died in 1800, having held this office nearly 40 years.

ⁱ Pollett's MS.

^k Lib. Rub. Scaccarii. Without date.

Anno EDWARD III.

1. William de Merlawe^l.

18. John de Charinton, or Shurington^m.

RICHARD II.

12. Guy de Ronclifⁿ.

HENRY VI.

30. John Blakeney and Robert Caterton^o.

EDWARD IV.

6—12. Hugh Brice and John Sondes^p.

HENRY VIII.

18. John Rogers^q.

EDWARD VI.

4. John Mardiley, of the Mint in Southwark,
called Suffolk House^r.

^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Id. The name is variously spelled in different Accounts.

ⁿ Claus. 12 R. II. m. 25.

^o Mint Accounts. Cl. 30 H. VI. m. 17.

^p Cl. 6 E. IV. m. 18. and 12. m. 28.

^q His Grant was of the office of Clerk Cambii, Cunagii, & Monete, vacant by the death of John Porthie, and he was to hold it in as ample manner as the said John, John Blakeney, John Sanders, and Thomas Wilde had held it, either jointly or separately, in the reign of Henry VI. and Edward IV., with the fee of 9d. per day, or £13. 13s. 9d. per annum, as it had been in the before-mentioned reigns. [Harl. MSS. N^o 698, folio 54.]

^r Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. III. p. 194. He translated 24 of David's Psalms into English verse.

THE AUDITOR OF THE MINT.

Anno HENRY VIII.

34. William Duncke^s.

EDWARD VI.

3. The same^t.

ELIZABETH.

18. William Dodington^u.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. ——— Bingley, ——— Beale^v.

SENEŠCHALL OF THE MINT.

ELIZABETH.

18. Thomas Fanshaw^x.

NUMERATOR MONETE.

ELIZABETH.

18. William Wightman^y.

POT-MAKER.

HENRY VIII.

38. William Foxley^z.^s Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 35.^t Talbot Papers, vol. B. p. 159.^u Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.^v Commons Journals.^y Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 120.^z Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 972. Stow's Survey of London, p. 56. According to these Authors, this man once slept fourteen days and nights, and upon his awakening was as if he had slept but one night. This was in 1546, and he was still living in the Tower in 1579.

Anno ELIZABETH.

18—21. The same ^a.

THE SURVEYOR OF THE MONEY PRESSES.

He has the care of the Dies ^b.

GEORGE II.

29. William Vaughan ^c.

GEORGE III.

38. John Chambers ^d.

PURVEYOR.

GEORGE III. ^e

8. James Morrison ^e.

THE SINKER OF THE IRONS.

ELIZABETH.

18. Humphrey Cole and George Tyson ^f.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Daniel Bratle ^g.

THE SMITH.

ELIZABETH.

18. William Hopkins ^h.

^a Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 120.

^b Trial of Turnbull, for robbing the Mint, in 1799. Sessions Paper, p. 205.

^c Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^d Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supp. (B).

^e Id. *ibid*.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698, fol. 120.

^g Commons Journals.

^h Harl. MSS. No 698, fol. 120.

Anno COMMONWEALTH.

1. ——— Hodginsⁱ.

GEORGE II.

29. Reuben Fletcher^k.

GEORGE III.

38. Assistant to the Engravers, Elias Walter^l.

THE KEEPER OF THE MONEY.

RICHARD II.

5. Gerard de Meute, Bourdeaux^m.

INSPECTOR of the COINAGE.

RICHARD I.

10. Geoffrey Fitz Walter, Northamptonⁿ.

SURVEYOR of the COINS.

EDWARD VI.

6. John Brown^o.

ⁱ Commons Journals.

^k Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^l Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^m Rot. Vasc. 5 R. II. m. 10. By that Writ was granted to him Custodiam Monetarumstrarum auri & argenti quæ in Villa nostra Burdegalia cudebuntur. I have not met with any other instance of this, although the wages are said to be as usual; nor do I know what was the nature of the office, nor whether it differed from the Keeper of the Mint.

ⁿ Bridges's Northamptonshire, vol. I. p. 423. See the Account of Northampton Mint.

^o Anecdotes of Painting, I. 305.

ANNO SURVEYOR of the MINT.

CHARLES II.

15. Thomas Swallow ^p.

The MELTER.

ELIZABETH.

18. Thomas Stanley and Thomas Munde ^q.

REPARATOR CUNEORUM.

HENRY III.

6. Michael de Sancta Elena ^r.

HIGH TREASURER of the MINT.

HENRY VIII.

36. Sir Edmund Peckham ^s.

EDWARD VI.

1. Sir Edmund Peckham ^t.

George Gayle, Esq. Treasurer of the King's Mint
in York ^v.

MARY.

1. Sir Edmund Peckham ^u.

^p He had a Grant of Arms, August 13, 1663. Snelling's MS.

^q Harl. MSS. No 696, folio 120.

^r Madox. Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.

^s British Museum MS. No 83. H. 8.

^t Inventory of the Effects of Henry VIII. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Comptrollers 4 Edward VI.

^v Pedigree of Gale, Lit. Anec. of the Eighteenth Cent. vol. IV. p. 536. No date is given. He was Sheriff in 1530, and died 1557.

^u Archaeologia, XII. 334.

Anno

ELIZABETH.

1. Sir Edmund Peckham ^w.Francis Gale, Treasurer of the Royal Mint of York ^x.

JAMES II.

1689. — Hewlet, Treasurer of the Dublin Mint for the Brass Coins ^y.

UNDER-TREASURER of the MINT.

HENRY VIII.

36. George Gayle, York ^z.

EDWARD VI.

4. Sir M. Bowes ^a.Sir John Yorke, of the Mint in Southwark ^b.Sir Willam Sharington was Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol ^c.

The PORTER of the MINT.

I know not how this office happened to have so much importance attached to it, but it will be seen in the next page that the name of the person who filled it is to be found, not unfrequently, in the Public Records.

^w Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors.

^x Pedigree of Gale as before. He died in 1590.

^y Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59.

^z MS. Brit. Mus, No 83. H. 11.

^a Strype's Memorials, II. 271. ^b Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^c Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. II. p. 93.

Anno EDWARD VI.

4. Richard Farre^d.

ELIZABETH.

13. Richard Farre and William Humfrey^e.

18. Richard Far^f.

20. Robert Knolles^g.

CHARLES I.

8. John Denbeigh and Thomas Kenevett^h.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. John Dendyⁱ.

GEORGE II.

29. John Sandell^j.

GEORGE III.

38. John Kemp^k.

The MAKER and STAMPER of the MONEY WEIGHTS.

The first person appointed under the Act by which this office was established in the year 1774^l was John Whitehurst^m.

GEORGE III.

38. Joseph Sageⁿ.

^d Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 95. He succeeded William Flippes.

^e Id. ibid. ^f Id. fol. 120. ^g Id. fol. 196.

^h Rymer, XIX. 431. ⁱ Commons Journals.

^j Maitland's History of London, vol. I. p. 155.

^k Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B). ^l Statute 14 G. III. chap. 92.

^m After the termination of the present existing interest, the Salary annexed to this Office is to be withdrawn, and the Fees allowed by Stat. 15 Geo. III. only to be taken. [Stat. 57 Geo. III. cap. 67.]

ⁿ Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

Besides these Officers, the Red Book of the Exchequer has preserved the name of another, with whose duties I am entirely unacquainted. The entry is without date, but is probably to be referred to an early part of the reign of Edward I. It is in these words: "Cantra Jocular sit ex parte Regis °." I have some suspicion, however, that the word Clericus is to be understood, and then the meaning will be, that Cantra the Jester, or Bard, was the King's Clerk, an officer still known in the Mint. This entry is immediately preceded by "Johes de Maydenstone clericus cambii."

The Chief Officer of the Mint of Scotland bears a title unknown to the English Mint, for he is called General of the Mint; the inferior Officers have the title of Master, Warden, &c. &c. ^p

I have been able to recover only the following names, since the Union:

Anno

CHARLES II.

1664. John Faulkener of Balmaker, Master ^q.

1682. James Faulkener of Plaisley, Warden ^r.

The following Extracts from Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's "Diplomata Scotiæ" will shew the manner in which the Coinage of Scottish

° Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, fol. 245 b.

^p By a Statute of the year 1817, the Office of Governor of this Mint, after the termination of the existing interest, is to be held by the Master of the Mint in England, and the other Offices by the Officers respectively discharging equivalent duties in England, and the Mint buildings to be sold. [Stat. 57 G. III. cap. 67.] ^q Cardonnel, Numismata Scotiæ, pp. 117, 118.

^r Cardonnel, Numismata Scotiæ, p. 117.

Gold and Silver was conducted after the Union of the two Crowns under James VI. of Scotland and I. of England :

GOLD.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regni.	Finaeness.			Allay.			Value of the Coin, coined out of 1 Pound			Pound of pure Gold weighed of pure Silver.			
		oz.	pw.	gr.	oz.	pw.	gr.	£.	s.	d.	lb.	oz.	pw.	gr.
1601.	James VI. 35.	11	0	0	1	0	0	432	0	0	12	0	0	0
1633.	Charles I. 9.	11	0	0	1	0	0	432	0	0	13	2	7	11
1738.	George II. 12.	11	0	0	1	0	0	560	14	0	15	2	10	7

SILVER.

1601.	James VI. 35.	11	0	0	1	0	0	36	0	0
1738.	George II. 12.	11	2	0	0	18	0	37	4	0

OF THE EXCHANGE.

An account of the nature of this office, together with a sketch of the duties which the chief Officer was bound to perform, is prefixed to the History of the various Mints and Exchanges ; I shall therefore in this place only give as full a List of the Officers as my researches have been able to collect. But must observe that it is difficult, in many instances, to distinguish whether they were Officers of the Exchange or of the Mint.

WARDENS of the EXCHANGE,

Anno

RICHARD I.

Guido de Vee*.

JOHN.

1. Hugh Cycell †.

9. Nigel Rufus and Odo le Petit †.

* Cambium Regis, 4to. London, 1628, p. 1.

† Id. p. 2.

† Madox, Hist. Exch. I. 283.

Anno

HENRY III.

1. Hubert de Burg ^u.
2. William Mareschall, jun. ^w
- 6 Andrew Buterell ^x.
9. Andrew Bukerell and Everard, Goldsmith, London and Canterbury ^y.
13. D—— B——, London and Canterbury ^z.
32. William Hardell, Custos Cambii ^a.
41. John de Somerket ^b.
47. Roger de la Laye and John Gisors ; but John being unable to act, William Fitz Richard was appointed in his stead ^c.
- 50—55. Bartholomew de Castello and Richard de Gamft ^d.

EDWARD I.

- 7—18. Gregory de Rokesle, Citizen of London, and Orlandino de Podio, London and Canterbury ^e.
8. John de Flemeng, Burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle ^f.
9. Alexander de Luk, Merchant, Ireland ^g.

^u Pat. 1 H. III. m. 3. De Burg was Justiciary, and the Mayor, &c. of London were commanded to deliver to him the Mint and Exchange of London.

^w Pat. 2 H. III. m. 5.

^x Pat. 6 H. III.

^y Claus. 9 H. III. m. 17. dors.

^z Fin. 13 H. III. m. 10. and Claus. m. 3. These references are from Vincent's MSS., but I have not found the passage on either of the Rolls.

^a Pat. 32 H. III. m. 4.

^b Pat. 41 H. III. m. 1.

^c Pat. 47 H. III. m. 15. ^d Rot. emptio-num 50—55 H. III.

^e Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc. Mag. Rot. 18 E. I. Rot. 1. a. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 85.

^f Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc.

^g Id.

Anno EDWARD I. (*continued.*)

19. Lapin, Canterbury^h.

26. Peter de Leycesterⁱ.

27. John Ballard, John Galeys, and their Companions, Merchants of Lucca, Yarmouth, and Dover^j.

28. John de Sandale^k.

Roger de Frowyke, Canterbury and Bristol^l.

Taldus Isaniam and Coppus Gotenne, and their Fellows, Merchants of the Company of Friscobalds of Florence, Newcastle upon Tyne, Kingston upon Hull, and Exeter^m.

EDWARD II.

1. Emeric de Friscobald, Merchant, London and Canterburyⁿ.

5—9. John de Lincoln, Citizen of London, the same^o.

6. Roger de Frowyk, London and Canterbury^p.

12 [before] John Van, and his Companions, Lombards^q.
Lapine Roger, Canterbury^r.

12. Augustin le Galeys or Waleys, London and Canterbury^s.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Wardrobe Account, p. 343.

^j Pat. 27 E. I. m. 24. Stat. de falsa Moneta, 27 E. I.

^k Red Book of the Exchequer, fol. 259. ^l Id.

^m Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc. In the Red Book of the Exchequer the first of these is called Calde Jaman; folio 87.

ⁿ Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc.

^o Id. Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 241.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^q Claus. 12 E. II. m. 14. dors.

^r Madox, II. 90.

^s Madox, I. 291. I believe this is wrong; Waleys was at this time Warden of the Mint.

Anno

RICHARD II.

- 1—14. John Leicester ^c.
 2. William Salesburie, appointed to the Exchange
 in Lombard Street ^d.
 6. John de la Vale, John Rogey, Arnald Lary, and
 Arnald de Vyes, for Aquitain ^e.
 17. John Wildeman ^f.
 18. Richard Clytherowe ^g.
 20. Walter Merwe ^h.
 John Feld, Calais ⁱ.

HENRY IV.

- 1—7. Walter Merwe, Custos Cambii Regis in Ci-
 vitate Lond. tent. in Lumbard Strete ^k.
 2. Stephen Spouret, Bourdeaux ^l.
 2—4. William Fitzhugh ^m.
 3—5. Robert Hethcote, Custos Cambii Monete ⁿ.
 13. Henry Somer, Custos Cambii & Monete ^o.

HENRY V.

- 1—5. Lodovic John, London and Calais ^p.
 8. Peter Edomart, Rouen, Caen, and Constantyn ^q.
 Godin Dureaume, Rouen ^r.
 9. John Patesley ^s.

^c Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 20. Mint Accounts.^d Fin. 2 R. II. prope initium. Vincent.^e Rot. Vasc. R. II. m. 17. ^f Pat. 17 R. II. m. 2.^g Claus. 18 R. II. m. 13. ^h Mint Accounts.ⁱ Rot. Franc. 20 R. II. m. 6. ^k Mint Accounts.^l Rot. Vasc. 2 H. IV. m. 18. n. 15. ^m Mint Accounts.ⁿ Id. ^o Pat. 13 H. IV. pt. 1. m. 18.^p Pat. 1 H. V. pt. 1. m. 28. Pat. 2 H. V. pt. 2. m. 23. Pat. 5H. V. m. 1. ^q Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 3. m. 9. dors.^r Rymer, IX. 920. ^s Claus. 9 H. V. m. 1. dors.

Anno HENRY V. (*continued.*)

Roger Mustel, Rouen, Caen, and Evreux^t.

10. Bartholomew Goldbeater^u.

John le Gris, Rouen, Caen, and Evreux^w.

HENRY VI.

1—9. John Derlyngton^x.

1 and 2. Bartholomew Seman; alias Goldbeter,
York^y.

1. Thomas Roderham, York^z.

8. John Tyse^a.

9. John Hexham^b.

10. William Russe^c.

16. John Paddesle, in England and at Calais^d.

18. Henry Ragley and Thomas Thorpe^e.

18—24. John Somerseth^f.

23. Thomas Thorpe^g.

24. Robert Mansfield^h.

25. John Lematonⁱ.

25—28. Thomas Thorpe^k.

27. Richard Tunstall^l.

28—30. Thomas Montgomery^m.

29. Richard Joynourⁿ.

^t Rot. Norm. 9 H. V. m. 32. dors. ^u Cambium Regis, p. 6.

^w Rot. Norm. 10 H. V. m. 14. dors. ^x Mint Accounts.

^y Cambium Regis, p. 6. Indenture 2 H. VI. Bundle in the Tower, unclassified.

^z Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.

^a Mint Accounts.

^b Id.

^c Pat. 10 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 29.

^d Pat. 16 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 4.

^e Mint Accounts.

^f Id.

^g Id.

^h Cambium Regis, p. 6.

ⁱ Pat. 25 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 29.

^k Mint Accounts.

^l Cambium Regis, p. 6.

^m Mint Accounts.

ⁿ Id.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued.*)

30—38. Humphrey Hayford, Campsor Monete & Cunagii °.

31. Ric. Tunstall and William Avenor P.

Tho. Montgomery and Jo. Hynde q.

34. Elias Horwoud r.

36. ——— Tonstall s.

EDWARD IV.

1. Tho. St. Legier t.

4. William Hatcliffe and M. Burhull v.

4—8. William Lord Hastings u, Tower of London,
Realm of England, Town of Calais and
Marches of the same w.

7. William Hatcliffe the King's Secretary, and E—
C—, Merchant of Florence x.

9. John Wode y.

22. Bartholomew Read z.

Thomas Galmole, Develyn and Waterford a.

RICHARD III.

1. John Kendall b.

° Mint Accounts. P Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 33.

q Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 20 and 23.

r Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 13. See Prynn's *Aurum Reginæ*, p. 132.

s Cambium Regis, p. 8. t Claus. 1 E. IV.

v Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 18.

u Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16. Cambium Regis, p. 8.

w Mint Indenture, *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 166.

x Rot. Fin. 7 E. IV. m. 11. y Mint Accounts.

z Cambium Regis, pp. 7 and 8.

a MS. No 116. No 10. Antiq. Soc. Lib.

b Cambium Regis, p. 7.

Anno HENRY VII.

1. Richard Fox, Keeper of the Exchange at Calais ^c.
- 1—3. William Stafford, Keeper of the Exchange ^d.
Nicholas Flynte, Campsor Monete & Cunagii infra
'Tur. London' ^e.
23. Peter Corsy, Merchant of Florence ^f.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—4. Henry Wiatt ^g.
4. John Coppinger, Custos Cambii & Monete ^h.
26. Thomas Pope, the same ⁱ.

EDWARD VI.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

14. Richard Martyn ^k.
17. Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh ^l.
44. Sir George Carey, Keeper of the Exchanges between England and Ireland ^m.

JAMES I.

CHARLES I.

3. Henry Earl of Holland, Keeper of the Exchanges between England and Ireland ⁿ.

^c Rolls of Parliament, VI. 377.

^d Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 70. Mint Accounts. Rolls of Parliament, VI. 380. ^e Mint Accounts.

^f Rymer, XIII. 216.

^g Mint Accounts.

^h Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 9, and Appen. No III.

ⁱ Id. ibid.

^k Rymer, XVI. 706.

^l Harl. MSS. No 698, p. 91.

^m Simon's Irish Coins, p. 41.

ⁿ Simon's Irish Coins, p. 46.

The other Officers of the Exchange were, the **COMPTROLLER**, of which I have met with but one instance, *viz.* Michael de Wincester, who held that office in the Exchange at Dover in the 27th year of Edward I. °; and the **CLERK OF THE EXCHANGE**, for which see the **CLERK OF THE MINT**.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

Of the various **MODES** by which the **MINT** has been supplied with **BULLION**.

The materials of the British rude substitutes for Money were, as we are informed by Cæsar, only Copper and Iron.

Of these metals the former was with the Britons the more precious, for they had not, at that time, discovered that their own country produced it, and therefore it was imported by them: the latter was furnished by their own mines, though in small quantities P.

The Roman Mints, if any were worked in Britain, might possibly be supplied with Gold and Silver from the Mines of this Island, for both Strabo and Tacitus enumerate those metals among its products q.

It should seem, however, that the more precious metals had not been discovered when Cæsar invaded

° Pat. 27 E. I. m. 24.

P "Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum: sed ejus exigua est copia: Ære utuntur importato." [Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V. cap. X.]

q "Φέρει δὲ σίλον καὶ βοσκήματα, καὶ χρυσόν, καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ σιδήρον." [Strabonis Geographia.] "Fert Britannia aurum & argentum, & alia metalla pretium victoria, gignit & oceanus margarita sed subfusca & liventia." [Tacitus de Vita Agricolæ.]

Britain, for it is scarcely possible that they should have escaped his penetrating eye, or his minute enquiry: and it is clear from his silence, in that part of his Commentaries where he details the other productions of the country, that he had no knowledge of their being found here. It was likewise the general opinion at Rome that neither Gold nor Silver was to be met with in this Island, as appears from two of Cicero's Epistles^r; and Suetonius mentions the Pearls of Britain as Cæsar's chief inducement to its conquest^s.

It has been said that collars of Gold and Silver, for the necks of women, made part of the Tribute which Augustus imposed upon the Britons; but I cannot find any other authority for this than the passage which is referred to below^t. Indeed the report but ill agrees with the acknowledged practice of that people to adorn themselves with chains of iron; for as that metal is of all others the most disposed to rust, and by its rust to corrode the skin, it cannot be doubted that the precious metals, which

^r "Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus Insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum, in illa Insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis." [Ciceronis Epist. ad Atticum, lib. IV. Epist. 16.] "In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras." [Ciceronis Epist. ad Familiares, lib. VII. Epist. 7.]

^s Suetonius de Cæsaribus, lib. I. cap. 47.

The pearls of Britain are represented by Pliny as being small, and of a bad colour; and yet Cæsar seems to have been so proud of those which he acquired by his descents upon the Island, that he thought them worthy to adorn the statue of Venus." [Plinii. Hist. Nat. lib. IX. cap. 35.]

^t Holinshed's Description of Britain, page 111.

are void of those ill qualities, would have superseded the use of iron for personal ornament on the unclothed bodies of the Britons, if such metals had been known to them.

Notwithstanding the reports of Strabo and Tacitus, it is not probable that the ores of Gold and Silver were ever found, in any considerable quantity, in Britain; for it cannot be supposed that the mines were at a very early period worked out, and yet no other supposition can satisfactorily account for the absolute disappearance of those ores.

It is true that the Lead ore is sometimes richly impregnated with Silver, but it requires a degree of skill, which it is not probable the Britons possessed, to part the two metals.

If, therefore, they were in a capacity to pay such a tribute to Augustus, from the natural produce of their own country, it should seem that they had been instructed by the Romans in the discovery of the Mines, and in the management of the ore, in the interval between his accession to the Empire, and the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar.

Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that no traces of Gold or Silver Mines, properly so called, are now to be found; nor, so far as I am informed, do any documents exist, to shew in what manner, or from what sources, even the Saxons, the successors of the Romans, supplied their Mints with Bullion^u. The

^u Unless the tribute which Æthelstan imposed upon the conquered Princes of Wales, and which consisted, amongst other things, of the annual payment of 200 Pounds of Gold and 300 Pounds of Silver, can be proved to be intended for that purpose. [Knyghton, Col. 2321.] Leake, p. 287, says, "Nor does Great Britain want Gold Mines, for such have been discovered at Cray-

difficulty with which sufficient quantities of Gold and Silver, for the purposes of coinage, were procured during the infancy of commerce, was no doubt the origin of that branch of the royal prerogative which vested in the King all Mines of those metals, wheresoever they might be found. By the old common law, if Gold or Silver were discovered in Mines of base metal, according to the opinion of some, the whole was a Royal Mine, and belonged to the King; though others held, that it only did so, if the quantity of Gold or Silver was of greater value than the quantity of base metal. The disputes which naturally arose upon this subject were, with great propriety, set at rest for ever by the Statutes 1 William and Mary, St. 1. c. 30, and 5 William and Mary, c. 6, which enacted that no Mines of base metal should be considered as royal, notwithstanding Gold or Silver might be extracted from them in any quantities; but that the King, or persons claiming royal Mines under his authority, should have the ore (other than tin ore in the counties of Devon or Cornwall), paying for the same a price stated in the latter of those Acts *.

The earliest instance in which I have found the claim to a Mine Royal to be enforced, occurs in the 47th year of Henry III., at which time a Writ was directed to the Sheriff of Devonshire, in which it was stated that the King had been given to under-

ford Moore in Scotland, in the sands of the river, twenty-two carats fine, and the like in England, at Brickhill-hill, near Spilsbury in Lancashire." For this he refers to Malyne's *Lex Mercatoria*, where may seen accounts of several Lead Mines in England, &c. which were rich in Silver.

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 294.

stand that there were within his County *Aurifodinae* & *Cuprifodinae*, that is, I presume, Mines containing Gold together with Copper, and he was commanded not to permit any one to occupy the same until the King should have provided that which the law required to be done^y.

His successor Edward I. received great help towards the maintenance of his wars, and other charges, from the Silver Mines which, in his days, were found in Devonshire. In the accounts of William de Wimondham, Warden of the Mint, it appears, that, between the 12th of August and the 31st of October, in the 22d year of his reign, there was tried and fined out, at Martinstowe in that County, by times, so much of fine Silver as amounted to 370 Pounds weight.

In the next year, 521 Pounds and ten Shillings weight were fined at the same place, and also brought to London.

But the workmen of that country being either not sufficiently numerous, or not sufficiently expert, three hundred and thirty-seven Miners were, in the year 1296, brought from the Wapentake of the Peak in Derbyshire, who fined and cast into wedges, in the course of that year, 704 Pounds three Shillings and one pennyweight^z. In the next year, 348 Miners were brought from the same place, and to them were added 25 from Wales, besides others of the County of Devon and other places^a.

^y Claus. 47 H. III. m. 15.

^z From Sept. 30 to Nov. 6 in that year, there were received into the Mint, from the King's Mines, £.709. 10s. 4½d. [Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^a Holinshed has omitted to state the amount of Silver which was fined by these Miners.

William de Aulton, Clerk, Keeper of the King's Mines in Devonshire and Cornwall, was Accomptant of the issues and profits of the King's Mines there from March 4, 1298, to April 18, 1299, and yielded up his account both of Silver and Lead^b; which proves that the Silver was the produce of Lead Mines rich in that metal.

In the early part of this reign, the Mines in Ireland which afforded Silver were supposed to be sufficiently rich to merit the attention of government. The King, therefore, in a Writ directed to Robert de Offerd, Justiciary of Ireland, and the Bishop of Waterford, his Treasurer there, stated that he was certainly informed that Mines of Silver were found in that Country, of which considerable profit might be made, and commanded those persons to cause such Mines to be opened and worked, in any way that to their judgment should seem expedient^c. The Mint, however, did not depend solely upon these Mines for a supply of Metal. From an account of the same William de Wymondham, it appears that foreign Bullion was purchased to a considerable amount^d.

During the reign of Edward II. Silver was still brought to the Mint from the Royal Mines, and that which was purchased was distinguished by the names of *Argentum Cismarinum*, *Transmarinum*, and *Billon*^e.

These terms continued to be used in the reign of

^b Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 316. He says that Wymondham's Accounts were, in his time, remaining in the Exchequer.

^c Pat. 4 E. I. m. 10.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^e Id.

Edward III., after which I have not met with them. In his 12th year he granted, and in his 15th year confirmed, by Statute, free liberty to all persons to dig within their own soil for Mines of Gold and Silver, and for hid treasure, under the inspection of Clerks to be appointed for that purpose, on condition that all the Silver so found should be carried to the Mint to be coined there, at their cost, and that one third of the Money so struck should remain to the King, and two thirds to the owner of the soil; and that all the Gold should be brought to the Exchequer, at their expense, one moiety thereof to be retained for the King's use, and the other moiety to be returned to the said owner of the soil. But if they should neglect to dig for the said Mines, &c. then the King and his heirs to have power to do it, without hindrance from any one^f.

In the 3d year of Richard II. the same privilege was extended to Ireland, for six years, on condition of rendering to the King one ninth part of the metal. The remainder to be made into plate, &c. or to be brought to the Mint in Dublin, where the King's Seignorage and Custom for Coinage were to be deducted, and the value of the remainder given in his Money. The Bullion not to be exported, except to England, without the King's special license, on pain of forfeiture^g.

But, notwithstanding the provision of the 12th

^f Fines, 12 E. III. m. 17, and 15 E. III. m. 14. The Statute which is here referred to has never, as I believe, been printed in any edition of the Statutes. It is not in that of 1810. Prynne has given it in his Tractate on Aurum Regiæ, p. 128.

^g Rot. Parl. An. 3 R. II. m. 2. n. 43. Prynne on the 4th Part of Coke's Institute, p. 308.

year of Edward III. which appears to be so favourable to Mine-adventurers, it seems that the Crown could not at once recede from the antient practice, for, in the next year, we find that the Sheriff of Somersetshire was commanded to repair in person to Melles in that County, and to dig and examine into a Mine there, which was reported to be rich in Silver^h. And, in order to provide a supply of fuel for the King's furnaces in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, an Inquisition was ordered to value the woods belonging to certain persons in the neighbourhood of his Silver Mines there, and to sell them to his Warden of the said Mines at a reasonable rateⁱ.

In the 18th year of Edward III. is found the first entry of Gold, as brought into the Mint for the purposes of Coinage, which remains upon record. It consisted either of foreign Coins, or of Bullion purchased for the Mint, or sent thither by Merchants to be coined^k; but I have not met with any instance where that metal is entered as the produce of the Royal Mines.

The Welch Mines in Cardiganshire were discovered in the reign of James I. by Sir Hugh Middleton, and have ever since been worked with success; whereas all others in England have not answered the charges of working. Folkes says there was a good quantity of Money coined in this reign, of the Silver refined from the lead of the Mines in the Principality of Wales^l. And it will be seen, on

^h Claus. 13 E. III. pt. I. m. 9.

ⁱ Escaet. 13 E. III. No 61.

^k Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^l Folkes, p. 70. Leake, p. 287.

inspecting the Explanation of the Plates, that Silver from those Mines, and from others in the West of England, has been occasionally coined so late as the reign of King George I.

It was at an early period discovered that the working of Mines on the King's account was not advantageous to the Crown, and in consequence they were leased to various persons, with a reservation of certain portions of the precious metals which they contained to the use of the Crown, and sometimes also with an obligation to bring the whole produce to the Mint, in order to its being coined there.

As that reservation was unquestionably made for the purposes of Coinage, I shall give a brief statement of the proportions which were at different times reserved.

1354. The tenth part ^m.

1358. The first year, a rent of 20 Marks; afterward, the fifth part of the metal ⁿ.

1369. All the Gold and Silver to be brought to the Mint in the Tower of London to make Money, and the ninth part to be paid to the King for his Seignory ^o.

1377. The thirtieth part of the profits of a Gold Mine which had been discovered in Devonshire, and declared to the King's Council, was granted to the discoverer for two years ^p.

1378. The seventh part ^q.

1379. The ninth part ^r.

^m Cl. 28 E. III. dors.

ⁿ Fines, 32 E. III. m. 11.

^o Cl. 43 E. III. m. 9. dors.

^p Claus. 1 R. II. m. 32.

^q Pat. 2 R. II. pt. 1. m. 46.

^r See p. 168.

1382. The ninth part to the King, and the tenth to the Church of the parish in which the Mine was found ^a.

1388. The seventh part ^t.

1390. The ninth part to the King, the tenth part to Holy Church, and a thirteenth to the Lord of the soil ^u.

1397. The ninth part of the pure Gold and Silver ^x.

1427. To Holy Church a tenth, to the King a fifteenth, of the pure Gold and Silver; and to the Lord of the soil a twentieth part of Gold and Silver ^y.

1434. The same lease was renewed, but with the condition of paying to the King, only, the fifteenth part of the pure Gold and Silver ^z.

1453. A tenth part of the pure Gold and Silver ^a.

1456. Is the first instance of an annual rent, without any reservation of Bullion, which I have met with ^b.

1461. The tenth boll of ore ^c.

1467. One twelfth to the King, and one sixteenth to the Lord of the soil ^d.

1474. An eighth to the King, a ninth to the Lord of the soil, and a tenth to the Minister of the parish ^e.

^s Fin. 5 R. II. & Cl. 3 R. II.

^t Cl. 11 R. II. m. 44 dors.

^u Pat. 13 R. II. pt. 3.

^x Pat. 20 R. II. pt. 3. m. 23.

^y Pat. 5 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 7.

^z Pat. 11 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 12.

^a Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 6. These were Mines in Devonshire and Cornwall, and yet it will be seen in the Annals that, in 1454, the Commons represented that the Mines in these Counties were not worked.

^b Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 8.

^c Pat. 2 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 6.

^d Pat. 8 E. IV. pt. 3. m. 14.

^e Pat. 15 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 22.

1475. A fifteenth of the pure Gold and Silver^f.

1625. After the first two years, one tenth to the King. All the other Silver to be brought to the Mint, where the lessee was to receive for it such price in ready Money as Silver of the same fineness should then be worth ^g.

In order to facilitate the working of these Mines, the lessees were sometimes authorized to take a certain number of workmen, wheresoever they should find them, within the County wherein the Mines were situated^h. They had power also over their labourers, &c. to exercise justice in all pleas, except those of land, life, or limb; and if any offended so that they ought to be imprisoned, then the patentees or lessees were authorized to arrest and lodge them in the next gaol, there to be detained until they should be released by themⁱ.

As the claim of the Crown respecting Mines Royal was but ill defined, an attempt was made in the 15th year of Charles II. to pass a Statute for the purpose of ascertaining it more clearly^k; but, after the Bill was read a second time, and the amendments of the Committee to which it was referred were reported, it seems to have been dropped, as no further proceedings are to be found; and the claim remained in its unsettled state, until it was finally determined by the 1st and 5th of William and Mary, which have been already recited.

But the supply of the Mint with Bullion was in early times considered to be a circumstance of too

^f Pat. 18 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 30.

^g Rymer, XVIII. 90.

^h Pat. 45 E. III. pt. 2. m. 31.

ⁱ Pat. 15 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 22.

^k Commons Journals, vol. VIII. pp. 451, 458, 483.

much importance to be trusted to natural means alone; and the aid of Alchymy was therefore resorted to for that purpose. Thus the Gold, of which the Nobles of Edward III. were formed, is said to have been produced by Raymond Lully.

Ashmole, in his Notes upon Norton's Ordinall, and Hermes Bird, has given a very circumstantial account of the bringing of Lully into England by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster; of his agreeing to make the King rich by his art, in consequence of that Monarch's promise to enter into a war against the Turks; of his refusal to work any longer, when he found that Edward would not keep that promise; and of his being clapt up in the Tower in consequence.

The Gold, he says, is affirmed (by an unwritten verity) to have been made by Raymond Lully, in the Tower of London; and, besides the tradition, the inscription is some proof; for, upon the Reverse is a cross fleury, with Lioneux, inscribed, "*Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat;*" that is, "as Jesus passed invisible, and in most secret manner, by the midst of the Pharisees, so that Gold was made by invisible and secret art amidst the ignorant." ¹

That Edward was, in some degree, a believer in the powers of Alchymy, and therefore not improbably the dupe of Lully, will, I think, appear from the following Record. The Patent Roll of his third year states, that the King had been given to understand

¹ Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, pp. 442, 467. Mr. Tyrwhitt has thought this tale worthy of a serious confutation, which may be seen in the fourth volume of his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, p. 183.

that John le Rous and Master William de Dalby could make Silver by art of Alkemony; that they had heretofore made it, and still did make it; and that by such making of that metal they could greatly profit the Realm: he therefore commanded Thomas Cary to find them out, and to bring them before the King, with all the instruments, &c. belonging to the said art. If they would come willingly, they were to be brought safely and honourably; but, if not, they were to be seized, and brought before the King wherever he might be. All Sheriffs, &c. were commanded to assist the said Thomas Cary^m. This belief in the creation, or, at least, transmutation of metals, was in the reign of Henry IV. so firmly established, that we find in his fifth year a Statute which solemnly "ordained and established that none from henceforth shall use to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the craft of multiplication; and if any the same do, that he incur the pain of felony in this case." ⁿ

In consequence of the restraint which this Statute imposed upon the operations of Alchymy, John Cobbe, in the 22d year of Henry VI. presented a Petition to the King, in which he stated, that he was desirous of operating upon certain materials, by Art Philosophical, viz. to *transubstantiate* the inferior metals, by the said art, into perfect Gold and Silver, so as to endure every trial; but that certain persons had suspected this to be done by art unlawful, and therefore had power to hinder and disturb him in giving proof of it.

^m Rymer, IV. 384.

ⁿ Statute 5 H. IV. chap. 4. [Statutes, folio, 1577.]

His Majesty, having considered the premises, and being willing to see the conclusion of the said operation, granted, of his special grace, license to the said John to practise the said art in future, without molestation from any of his officers; provided always that it was not contrary to law^o. Soon after this, however, his Majesty's curiosity became too impatient to endure the restraint of Statutes, and he granted licenses of the same kind to various persons to carry on their operations, notwithstanding any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or provision to the contrary^p.

In his 35th year he appointed, by Letters Patent, Commissioners to inquire into the truth of this art, by the professors of which he had been promised wealth sufficient to pay all his debts in Gold and Silver, to the great advantage of the Kingdom. The Commissioners were not selected with any particular attention to their qualifications for such a scrutiny; for they consisted of Augustine and preaching Friars, of the Queen's Physician, the Master of St.

^o Pat. 22 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 9.

^p Pat. 24 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 5 & m. 14. Rymer, XI. 240. Pat. 30 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 27. Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 6. This last Patent is given at length in Tovey's *Anglia Judaica*, p. 253, and is worth perusal. It speaks with the highest confidence not only of the transmutation of metals, but also of the Elixir by which all curable disorders would be healed; human life prolonged to its natural term, and man would be preserved in health, and natural strength both of body and mind, &c. &c. It gave license by authority of Parliament to John Faceby, and others, to make that most precious medicine called the Fifth Essence, and the Philosopher's Stone, and to practise the transmutation of metals into true Gold and Silver. [Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 7. Brit. Museum, III. 1. b.]

Laurence Pontigny College, an Alderman of London, a Fishmonger, two Grocers, and two Mercers^q. Their Report does not appear; but, without doubt, it was favourable to the art, as another license to practise it is found in his 39th year. This differs from those formerly granted, in being for the term of two years only, whilst the others were unlimited^r.

Notwithstanding the disappointments which must have been perpetually experienced from the professions of those Alchymists, it is certain that a reliance on the powers of their art continued as late as the 17th year of Edward IV. This appears from the following entry, which is preserved in a Leet Book of the Corporation of Coventry.

“Memo^r. that the vj day of Januar, y^e yere afores^d [i. e. 17 E. IV. John Seman, Mayor], the forsaid May^r resceyved a pr^ve signet by y^e hande of a s^vnte of the Kyngs, the tenour wherof hereafter ensueth :

By the Kyng.

Trusty and wele-beloved, we grete you wele, and late you wite that it hath ben shewed unto us that oure wele-beloved John Frensh, our s^vnt, comⁱnyng and com^only abydyng in our cite ther, entendeth be his lab^r to practise a true and a p^fitable conclusion in the cunnyng of Transmutac^on of metals, to oure pr^fyte and pleasure, and for to make a cler shewing of the same before certⁿ oure s^vnts and

^q Pat. 35 H. VI. m. 6. By the advice of the King's Council, and by the authority of Parliament. [Prynne's *Aurum Regiæ*, p. 134.] A Commission of the same kind had previously been made in his 34th year to William Cantelo and others. [Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 7. Brit. Museum, III. 1. b.]

^r Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 23.

counsell's by us therfor appointed, is required a certayn tyme to p'par his mat'ials; we not willing therfore oure seid s'v'nt to be trobled in that he shall so werk or p'pair for oure pleasure and p'fite, woll and charge yewe that ye ne suffer hym in eny wyse by any p'sone or p'sones to be letted, troubled, or vexed of his seid labour and practise, to thentent that he at his goode lib'te may shewe unto us, and such as be by us therfor appointed, the cler effect of his seid conclusion. Yeven under oure signet, at our Palays of Westm^r, the xxix day of December.

To our trusty and welbeloved the Mair and his brethren of our cite of Coventre, and to the Recorder of the same, and to ev'y of thaim."*

I have met with only one instance in which the Statute of the 5th year of Henry IV., against the craft of Multiplication, was put in force. It occurs in the 7th of Edward VI. when one Eden confessed himself guilty of that crime, *viz.* that he had practised to make the fifth Essence, and the Philosopher's Stone. He also accused one Whalley, then prisoner in the Tower, of having moved and procured him to practise that art. As the offence was but felony, Eden the principal was included in the General Pardon, but Whalley as accessory to the felony was excepted, as one of those who were then in the Tower†.

* This extract from the Corporation Records was obligingly communicated by that very able Antiquary Mr. Sharp of Coventry. The publication of that gentleman's valuable Collections for the History of his native City would be an accession of considerable interest to British Topography.

† Pettus's *Fodinæ Regales*, p. 44; from Dier's Reports, 88. We must not, however, ascribe all this to the blindness of unen-

In the sixth year of Charles I. David Ramseye had license to practise his new invention of separating metals, for fourteen years, paying to the King one third of the profit after the end of the first year; and also power to search for Mines Royal in Yorkshire and Somersetshire, and in those parts of Devonshire where there were no Tin works, for twenty-one years, paying the tenth of the Gold, Silver, Copper, and Lead, into the Exchequer, and delivering into the Mint every six months, at the price usually given, all the Gold and Silver which should be found in the said Mines ^u.

The Statute of the 5th year of Henry IV. against Multiplication was repealed in the first year of William and Mary, because divers persons, who, by their study, industry, and learning, had arrived to great skill in extracting Gold and Silver from other Ores, did not dare to exercise their said skill within the realm, for fear of falling under the penalty of the said Statute, and therefore practised it in foreign

lightened times; for we shall find, on inquiry, that a belief in the Transmutation, or, as it is more modestly stiled, the Maturation of Metals, held a place even in the enlarged mind of Bacon. In his *Sylva Sylvarum* [p. 73], he has given a serious receipt for the conduct of that operation. Is it possible that the great Father of experiment should have so far deceived himself, as to imagine that he had practised with success what he there pretended to teach? Mr. Boyle, likewise, professed his belief in the possibility of Transmutation; and, whilst he was warm with the hope of it, procured the repeal of the Statute 5 H. V. [Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 278.] And even in our times, Projection was publicly exhibited by a gentleman well skilled in Chemistry, whose deplorable end was attributed to the disgrace which naturally attached to so suspicious a performance. [See an Account of some Experiments on Mercury, Silver, and Gold, made at Guildford, in the Laboratory of James Price, M. D. F. R. S. 4to. Oxford, 1782.] ^u Rymer, XIX. 200.

parts, to the great loss and detriment of the realm.

This Act of Repeal provided, that all Gold and Silver so extracted should be employed for no other use but for the increase of Monies; for which purpose they were to be brought to the Mint in the Tower of London, where the full and true value thereof would be paid according to the fineness; and they were not to be used, or disposed of, in any other place within their Majesties' dominions^v.

From the Mint Accounts, which are still preserved in the Court of Exchequer, I have compiled the following Table of the Quantities of Bullion received at various times into the Mint for the purposes of Coinage. It is necessarily incomplete; for the Accounts, being probably considered as of little value after the Quietuses were issued, have given place to papers of more importance, and have consequently been removed to distant rooms, wherever space could be found for them; and several of them are now, in course, not to be found. Still those which remain are too curious to be entirely omitted in this work.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.	GOLD.
Henry III., for an uncertain period, ending in July 1232	Canterbury.	<i>£. s. d.</i> 3898 0 4 *	<i>£. s. d.</i>

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS. *£. s. d.*

* The profit of this is stated to be *£97. 9s. Od.*;

of which to the King - 60 18 3½

to the Archbishop 36 10 10½

£97 9 2

These totals, as is frequently the case where sums are stated in Roman Numerals, do not agree.

^v Statute 1 William and Mary, chap. 30.

* In these Accounts the Shillings mean Ounces. See under VOL. I. N

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.	GOLD.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Henry III. (<i>cont'd.</i>) From July 1, 50 } to May 26, 53 }	London.	45617 2 7	
Edward I.			
19 and 20	Canterbury.	877 14 8½	
21		748 16 2	
22		257 18 8½	
23		16 5 4	
24		19 18 7	
24	London.	1772 19 3*	
25		6245 18 9	
No date - -	Dublin.	6053 1 8	
Edward II.			
5 and 6	London.	13208 15 8	
5 and 6	Canterbury.	4770 7 10	
6 and 7		6761 2 1	
6 and 7	London.	7180 2 10	
7 and 8		29978 17 8 †	
10	Canterbury.	5144 7 7	
10 and 11	London.	6166 5 6	
10 and 11	Canterbury.	5415 12 5	
11 and 12		20820 6 9	
12 and 13		7951 12 0	
13 and 14	London.	8052 2 10	
13 and 14	Canterbury.	13010 0 9	
14 and 15	London.	9384 6 5	

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Of this sum £709. 10s. 4½d. are answered for the issues of the King's Mines.

† N. B. this with the Alloy amounted to £30,695. 8s. 2½d.

the reign of Henry V., where sometimes one is used, and sometimes the other.

In the Assisa Panis, which is usually attributed to the 51st year of Henry III., and which refers to "older Ordinances made in the times of the King's Progenitors," the weights of Bread are expressed by Pounds, Shillings, Pennies, and Farthings.

y This Roll, which is in the Tower, is imperfect at the end It originally contained entries of Silver purchased from July 1., 50th year, to Christmas in the 55th.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.	GOLD.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Edward II. (continued.)			
15 and 16	London.	1296 4 3	
15 and 16	Canterbury.	3752 17 1	
16 and 17	London.	999 2 11	
17 and 18		1697 19 3	
18		20647 0 4	
Edward III.			
1	London.	124 2 1	
1 and 2		148 0 11	
2 and 3		83 6 6	
2 and 3	Canterbury.	46 0 0	
3	London.	633 18 3	
3	Canterbury.	92 4 6	
3 and 4	London.	476 19 8	
4	No Money coined in either Mint.	0 0 0 *	
18	London.	30647 0 4	2187 12 0½ †
22		4461 16 3½ †	1834 17 11½
23		1614 1 9½	249 1 9½ §
23 and 24		2073 7 6½	557 1 8½ ¼ ⅛
24		4254 11 1½	
25			3422 2 4½ ¶
26 and 27			411 2 11½
27 and 28		91250 14 6½	8417 6 4½
28 and 29			2453 11 1½
28 and 29	York.	1892 5 9	
34	London.	1361 15 0½	
34 and 35		1675 17 5	3422 2 4½ ⅛

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* For that year Magister non respondet.

† In pure Gold £2129. 18s. 8½d. the whole of which was coined into Florins.

‡ Another Account, of the same date and title, differs as to all the totals, and the amount is only £4450. 7s. 10½d.

§ Pure Gold £243. 2s. All in Florins.

|| Pure Gold £549. 16s. 11d. All in Florins. No Money coined at Canterbury, either in Gold or Silver, during 23d and part of 24th years, according to an Order to that purpose in the King's Writ dated June 18, 23 E. III., that nothing should be coined after that day.

¶ Pure Gold £3222. 14s. 6½ ⅛d.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.	GOLD.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Edward III. (continued.)			
35	London.	3550 5 6	
35 and 36		1265 10 9½	
36		6412 11 1	4512 2 7½
37	Calais.	1613 5 1	2869 19 2
Michaelmas 37 } to	London.	755 13 4	1381 8 6
Michaelmas 38 }	Calais.	3659 4 11	1239 17 7
38	London.	1187 19 3	
40 and 41			747 1 5½
41 and 42		1764 19 9	1704 17 7
43 and 44		1556 5 5	1535 19 3½
44 and 45		640 13 3	1072 14 7½
49 and 50		2431 14 5	376 6 6
Richard II.			
11	London.	63 13 1	193 0 5
11 and 12		140 14 4	918 11 7¼ *
12 and 13		142 16 1½	905 15 10 †
13 and 14		1794 15 0	1636 15 3 †
19 and 20		169 7 9	536 14 3
20 and 21			605 5 3½
Henry IV.			
3	London.	129 2 11½	298 12 10
4		145 19 5	153 13 6
4 and 5		361 9 9½	313 16 10½
6			277 7 5
14 and 15		3612 5 0	7329 7 0
Henry V.			
Michaelmas 5 } to 30 March 7 }	London.	2102 19 4	2864 5 4 §
March 30, 10 } to March 30, 3 }		6924 0 10	19746 11 0½
of Henry VI.			

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Pure Gold 23 Car 3½ Gr.

† Pure Gold Ditto.

‡ Pure Gold Ditto.

§ In this Account Shillings and Ounces are used indifferently; thus, CCCXLII li. xjs. viijd. CXLVI li. j unc. x d.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

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REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.	GOLD.
		<i>lb. unc. d.</i>	<i>lb. unc. d.</i>
Henry VI.			
5	London.	598 8 15	752 2 12½
30 March 8			
to		1570 5 4	636 15 0
Michaelmas 10			
13		529 4 12½	300 0 1½
18		529 0 7½	691 3 11½
18 and 19		2751 3 10	505 4 10
23 and 24		207 3 0	162 0 3½
25 and 26		88 7 5	87 2 17½
St. John 26			
to 11 Oct. 28		651 2 15	207 11 2½
29 and 30			
Michaelmas to		10789 7 15	414 7 3½
Michaelmas			
31		3605 5 5	123 10 7½ *
32 to 34		5469 10 0	149 6 8
Michaelmas 37			
to		3103 2 0	48 8 5
Michaelmas 38			
Edward IV.			
29 Septemb. 9			
to	London.	8065 6 0	2239 6 0
Michaelmas 10			
9 and 10	York.	1312 6 0	88 0 0
9 and 10	Bristol.	1041 3 0	142 3 0
10 and 11	York.	242 8 0	54 7 10
11	London.		7565 7 0
11 and 12	Bristol.	903 3 0	117 3 0
31 May, 11			
to 28 Sept. 15	London.	36278 15 0	
Henry VII.			
1 and 2	London.	4103 0 0	472 2 0
3 and 4		2651 9 10	403 7 10
4		2724 0 10	238 3 0
10 and 11		4920 10 0	1056 2 0
11 and 12		2309 4 15	586 4 0
12 and 13		4510 2 15	764 11 0
13 and 14		7706 2 0	868 2 0
14 and 16		20443 4 0	1787 1 0

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* N. B. this Account is in £. s. d.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
		<i>lb.</i>	<i>unc.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>unc.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Henry VIII.							
3 and 4	London.	5537	10	5	1196	8	15 3½ Plates.*
7 and 8		2279	9	5	96	4	5
8 and 9		689	10	0	1976	8	0
9 and 10		535	4	13	2048	11	12½
10 and 11		192	2	8	2441	0	12

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Qu. the value of a Plate? Three Plates and $\frac{1}{2}$ must be less than 15 dwts.

The above is the last Account which I have been able to find; and I do not possess materials to bring the Table any lower^y.

The supply of Bullion for the Mint now rests entirely with the Bank of England, which on account of the benefits derived from the Charter, &c. is subject to the burden ^α of providing, except during the suspension of payments in cash, all the Gold and Silver used for the coinage of Money ^z."

OF THE VARIOUS METHODS OF COINAGE.

The Metal thus brought to the Mint was assayed, reduced to Standard, and then formed into Money,

^y There is indeed an Account, in the Report of the Secret Committee of the Lords in 1797, of all the Gold imported into the Mint in the years 1761—1797, both inclusive; but as we possess an accurate Statement of the quantity which was coined in each of those years, I did not think it necessary to reprint the Account of the Ingots which were brought to the Mint during that time.

^z Second Report from the Committee on the Publick Expenditure of the United Kingdom, 1807, Article the Bank.

by the instruments which at different periods have been invented for that purpose.

The Mode of Coinage in early times, as far as it can now be traced, was rude and inartificial; the sole expedient employed being to fix one Die firmly in a wooden block, and to hold the other in the hand as a Puncheon; when by striking the latter forcibly, and repeatedly, with an Hammer, the impression required was at length worked up.

This method appears to have been nearly coëval with the first invention of Coined Money^a; and it is a very singular fact, that no improvement of any importance was made in it until the power of the Screw was applied to Coinage in the French Mint, about the middle of the 16th century^b.

The new invention was not, however, admitted into our Mint before the year 1561, when it was used, together with the old method of coining by the hammer, until the latter was wholly laid aside in the 14th year of Charles II. A. D. 1662. From that time to the present, only very trivial improvements have been made, and the machine continues to be worked, with nearly all its original imperfections uncorrected. It consists of a Screw, to which the

^a It is probably as old as the first Coins which were stamped on both sides. The new Money in the 18th year of Edward I. was made in the following manner: First, it was cast from the melting-pot into long bars; these bars were cut with shears into square pieces, of exact weights; then with the tongs and hammer they were forged into a round shape; after which they were blanchéd, that is, made white and refulgent by nealing or boiling, and afterwards stamped or impressed with a hammer, to make them perfect Money. Leake, p. 76, quoting the Red Book of the Exchequer.

^b Le Blanc, *Traité Historique de Monnoyes de France*, p. 268.

upper Die is connected ; this is worked by a Fly, and forces that Die which is attached to it with considerable effect upon the other Die, which is firmly fixed below.

The advantage of this machine (which is known by the name of The Mill and Screw) over the old mode of striking with an hammer, consists chiefly in the increase of force, which is so great as to raise the impression at one blow, by which a great waste of time is prevented.

Its radical defect is, that it is put in motion by the exertion of human strength ; and as this must necessarily be unequal at different periods of its application, the Coins will be struck with unequal forces.

It is, perhaps, owing to this cause, that, notwithstanding the vast increase of power which has been gained, no addition has been made, since its introduction, to the relief of the impression on the Coins, but they still retain that insipid flatness, which must have been highly gratifying to the workman, who was obliged to raise the figure by the strength of his arm ; but which at the same time affords a facility to counterfeiting, that has proved fatal to the integrity of our Coins.

It has been expected, by some, that the errors, which have arisen from the imperfections of these two modes of working, will be banished from our Mints by the powerful machinery invented by Mr. Boulton in 1788.

His Coining-Mill, according to Dr. Darwin's poetical description of it, is moved by a medium whose power knows no limits but the imperfection of the materials on which it exerts itself. It pos-

sesses the peculiar convenience of concentrating all those operations of the Mint which require either considerable force, or a constant and regular motion: such as, rolling the Metal; cutting out the Blanks; shaking them in bags to wear down the edges; at the same time that it works any number of Stamping-Machines which may be necessary. In these it lays the Blanks upon the Die, perfectly concentric with it, and again displaces them, after they have received, at one blow, not only the impression upon each face, but also any kind of milling, *or legend*, upon the edge ^c.

Such are the supposed advantages of this improved machine, which, since the above account was written, has been admitted into the Royal Mint. Dr. Darwin's statement, however, must be received with some grains of allowance, for the machine is still imperfect from the nature of that mechanical power by which the upper Die is impressed upon the lower one; namely, that its force is not absolutely direct, but in some slight degree rotatory; and from the formation of the collar within which the Coins are stamped, which is such that it cannot be used for the purpose of placing a legend upon their edge. This latter imperfection, however, might easily be removed.

The edges of the hammered Money were left in a rude and unfinished state, which rendered them peculiarly liable to be diminished by clipping. After the mill was introduced, the Coins began to assume a form nearly circular, which admitted of some

^c Shaw's History of Staffordshire, vol. II. p. 118. See the account of the Mint at Soho.

addition to the impression, for the purpose of preserving the outward edge. This was first attempted by placing a graining so as to form a regular circle, on the outside of the Legend, quite to the edge of the Coin. The earliest specimens of Elizabeth's milled Money present instances of this invention.

Afterward a Legend was imprinted upon the edge of the larger pieces ; but this, it is believed, did not take place until the year 1651, for the earliest instances of it, which are known, occur upon the Coins made by Blondeau and Ramage, for the Commonwealth, of that date.

This impression is given to the edge of the Coin by passing it between two Plates, one of which is fixed, and the other moveable, by a Pinion which works in teeth on the back edge of it. One half of the Legend is engraven on each of these Plates, so that when the Coin has been carried by the moveable Plate to the end of that which is fixed, it is then marked upon the whole of the edge.

This machine was invented by Monsieur Castaing, in 1685, and was introduced by him into the French Mint^d. Before this invention the letters were impressed upon the edge by including the Blanks in a collar which contained the legend, and was of the same diameter as the piece, but of less thickness. The metal, thus placed, being struck with the Die, expanded under it, and received the form of whatever was engraven on the inside of the collar, which opened with four joints in order to permit the Coin to be taken out.

^d Boizard, *Traité de Monnoyes*, tom. I. p. 142. He says that one person may, with ease, mark 20,000 pieces in one day.

As it is scarcely practicable to impress a legend upon the rim of the smaller Coins, a graining has been devised for the protection of their outer edge. This, which is generally known by the technical term Milling, was first used in 1663, the strokes at that time going at right angles across the edge. That mode continued until 1669, when diagonal strokes were introduced. But these, also, being found insufficient for the purpose, angular strokes were devised, in 1739, which added something to the difficulty of counterfeiting the milling; and the edge of the Coin was still further protected by placing the top of the letters as close as possible to it^e.

I have not been able to discover how long this method of milling was retained, but it probably did not answer the expectations which were formed of it, and was consequently soon withdrawn; at least it is not in present use, but both the right angled and the diagonal strokes appear upon the Coins of his present Majesty; some of which also are marked with lines considerably curved.

The position of the letters close to the edge of the Coin, which first appeared upon some of the Guineas of William and Mary, is still continued.

The whole operation of Milling is yet kept a profound secret in the Mint, all those who are intrusted being sworn not to discover it; notwithstanding the manner in which the same operation is performed in several foreign Mints is there publicly shewn^f. It is probably executed with an instrument similar

^e Vallavine's Observations on the current Coin, p. 17.

^f Folkes's Tables, p. 105.

to that by which the letters are imprinted on the edge; at least that tool may with ease be made to do it.

From the Money, when completely finished, two pieces are to be taken from every fifteen Pounds weight of Gold, and two, at least, from every sixty Pounds weight of Silver, one for the private Assay within the Mint, and the other for the Trial of the Pix ¶ .

But as no human skill can be supposed capable of attaining to unerring correctness in the practice of any art, an allowance was wisely provided by our Ancestors, in early times, for those failures in the practical part of Coinage which, in their judgment, were considered as being inevitable. Accordingly the Master of the Mint was permitted to vary from the express conditions of his Indenture by certain small proportions of weight or fineness, or of both conjointly, in every pound weight. This allowance is technically termed *The Remedy*; and it has been increased or diminished at different times, as will appear from the following Table.

REMEDY.

A TABLE OF THE REMEDIES.

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
Edward I. 28		2 Pennyweights.	Snelling.
Edward III. 18	$\frac{1}{4}$ Carat		{ Indenture for the Florins.
	$\frac{1}{11}$ Carat		{ Indenture for the Nobles.

A TABLE of the REMEDIES (*continued.*)

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
Edward III. 19	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat	2 Pennyweights	Indenture.
— 20, 23	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Snelling.
— 27	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 30	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture.
Richard II. 18	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture
Henry IV. 3	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Snelling.
— 4			Snelling.
— 13	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Snelling.
Henry V. 9			Snelling.
— 10			Indenture.
Henry VI. 4			Indenture.
— 6			Indenture.
— 24			Snelling.
— 49			Indenture.
Edward IV. 4			Indenture.
— 5			Indenture.
— 7			Snelling.
— 8			Indenture.
— 22			Indenture.
Henry VII. 19			Indenture.
Henry VIII. 18			Indenture.
— 22	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Snelling.
— 34	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 36	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat	3 pennyweights	Indenture for the Gold, Snelling for the Silver.
— 37	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture and Snelling as before.
Edward VI. 1	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 3	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 4	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Indenture and Snelling as above.
— 6	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ Gra.} \\ 2 \text{ Grains} \end{array} \right\}$	2 Pennyweights	Indenture.
Elizabeth 1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right\}$		Indenture and Snelling.
— 19			
— 25	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right\}$		Indenture.
— 26			
— 27	$\frac{1}{2}$ Carat		Snelling.
— 43	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right\}$		Indenture.
James I. 2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right\}$		Indenture and Snelling.

A TABLE of the REMEDIES (*continued.*)

REIGN.		GOLD.	SILVER.	
James I.	10	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \frac{1}{16} \\ \frac{1}{16} \\ \frac{1}{16} \\ \frac{1}{16} \end{array} \right\}$ Carat	3pennyweights	Snelling.
_____	17	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat	_____	Snelling.
Charles I.	2	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat	_____	Snelling.
Charles II.	13	_____	_____	Snelling.
_____	17	_____	_____	Snelling.
_____	18	_____	_____	Snelling.
George III.	55	$\frac{1}{16}$ Carat*	Pennyweight †	Indenture.

* All only in fineness ; or all only in weight twelve grains.

† All only in fineness, or all only in weight.

This Table is copied from the Indentures, and from the Tables given by Snelling, in his View of the Gold and Silver Coins.

OF THE TRIAL OF THE PIX.

The wisdom of our Ancestors did not consider the private Assay within the Mint, which sanctioned the delivery of the Coins to the owner of the Bullion, as a sufficient security for the integrity of the Coins, but required them to be submitted to a Trial by a Jury, before the Master could receive his discharge; and this Trial was repeated at such short intervals as to form a sufficient check upon improper issues of the Money^b. This final examination is technically called the Trial of the Pix, from the

^b To have formed a complete check, this Trial should have taken place before the delivery of the Money to the owner of the Bullion. This, however, might not have been absolutely necessary in former times, when the Coinage of each period of three months was of but inconsiderable amount.

Box in which the Coins, which have been selected for that purpose, are contained ; and where they are secured by three locks, the keys of which are respectively in the custody of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint.

It does not appear that *the antients* had any such publick Trialⁱ; and the earliest notice of the Pix, which I have met with in any modern foreign Mint is in the reign of Philip V. of France, in the fourteenth century^k; but whether the passage in which it occurs related to a publick examination cannot now be determined.

The date of the invention of this mode of Trial I am not able to trace, but its introduction into our Courts is probably of high antiquity. The first appearance of a publick Trial upon Record is dated on the 24th of February in the 32d year of Henry III. when the Mayor and Citizens of London were commanded to chuse twelve of the more discreet and lawful Citizens of London, with whom they were to associate twelve skilful Goldsmiths of the same place; so that in the whole there might be twenty-three persons of sufficient skill^l. These twenty-four persons were to go before the Barons of the

ⁱ Arbuthnot's Tables, page 8.

^k Du Cange, sub voce Assaia; where by mistake he calls him Philip VI. [See under Moneta, col. 980.] The circumstance there referred to is not noticed by Le Blanc, in his *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*. It is a Trial of the Prelatical and Baronial, not the Royal Coins.

^l "Ita quod in universo xxiii sint discreti," are the words of the Record. Mr. North thinks the appointment of Assayers in the 6th year of H. III. proves the existence of this Trial at that time. [Answer to Clarke, p. 14]; but it is possible that they were Assayers only within the Mint.

Exchequer, and, having been sworn, were to examine, together with the Barons, as well the old as the new Money of the Realm, and to see that it was made of good Silver, and according to law, and for the King's advantage (saving his allowed and antient rent); and so to conduct themselves in the premises that they might be able to warrant the said Money as lawful, and, if necessary, to answer every where legally for the same^m. This, however, it must be observed, was not precisely a Trial of the Pix.

As we are entirely ignorant of the peculiar circumstances that called for this publick examination of the Coins, which were then actually in circulation, it is impossible to form any idea of its intention, or of the advantages which might be expected to result from it. It should seem that, if the Report were unfavourable, the effect must be a general suspicion of that kind of Money, whether new or old, whose deficiency it recorded. And by what possible means could that Money be withdrawn from circulation?

The first regular publick Trial of the Pix took place in the 9th or 10th year of Edward I. when the King commanded, by Writ, the Barons of the Exchequer to take with them Gregory de Rokesleⁿ, and straightway, before they retired from the Exchequer, to open the Boxes of the Assay of London and

^m Claus. 32 H. III. m. 13. dors. North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures. The same Writ to Norwich, Oxford, Winchester, Lincoln, and Northampton.

ⁿ He was Warden of the Mint. See the List of Officers. In the 8th year of Edward I. Fache, the Assayer of the Mint, is stated to have one key of the Pix containing the Money for the Assay. [Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247.]

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Apsayum factum

Memorandum quod die Luna prox. post Octab. Pur.
beata Maria anno R.R.E. fil. R.E. duodecimo videli:
cet xij.^o die Februarii coram magistro Roberto de Coer:
done Barone de Scaccario Augustino de Waleys cus:
tode cambii Lond. Johanne de Lokermuth clerico
Thesaurario et aliis de Scaccario presentibus aperta
fuit quodam pignus in qua reperti sunt lix.^l iiii.^d cap:
ti de vij.^M C. xx.^E de moneta monetata in cambio pro
dicto inter annum R.R.E. fil. R. H. octavum et
annum ejusdem R.E. xxv.^m quo tempore quidam Ri:
cardus de Lockebury defunctus ut dicitur fuit
magister moneta ibidem: quibus denariis mixtis
et libris inde ponderatis inventa est libra recti
ponderis Et captis inde et cipsis xij.^d factum
est inde Apsayum per Lapinum Rogerii apsaya:
torem moneta Regis. Et concordat cum stan:
dards Regis Lond. et movetur in baga in quadam
pyxella.

Reg. Kempe, Abb. S. Edm.

Ms. Harl. 645. fol. 116 b.

Canterbury, and to make the Assay *in such manner as the King's Council were wont to do*, and to take an account thereof; so that they might be able to certify the King touching the same, whenever he should please*.

The exact form of the Trial is not here prescribed, *Mr. Rading* but it is fully laid down in an Indenture of the 18th *has himself* of Edward III. in this manner: "So soon as the *gives the* Moneys are coyned and compleate, the Warden to *form in the* receave yt as the Master receaveth yt from the Mo- *12th Edw. II.* nyers, and putt yt in one Chest shut with two keys. *from one of* And before the Moneys bee paid to the Marchant, *the Register* at the request of the said Master, the Warden shall *of S^t Edmund* make tryall of yt, and if yt shall not bee so good as *bury in the* yt is undertaken, yt shalbee retorned to the said *present Wth* Master to bee remolten at his owne proper costs, *vol. iv. pp.* and being afterwarde approved for good, the Warden *387, 388.* to take out of every C pound *the oppos-* *its del.* weitt ijs Starlinge, and of every five pound weitt of Gold one peece, which *leaf gives* peecs shall be kepte in one Chest with two keys, *The original* and sealed with two seales, th' one to remayne with *form.* the King's Deputie, and th' other with the Master. The said Box to be opened once every three monthes before the Councill of the Kinge, the Warden, and the Master, and the said Moneys to be assaid before them, and being found good and covenable, the said

* Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 291. It should seem that the Master had not authority to coin Money until the Pix was delivered to him; for, in the 14th year of Edward I., the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to deliver the Pixes of London and Canterbury to John de Caturco and Gerald Mauham, in order to coin Money, and to administer to them the oath requisite upon that occasion. Madox, vol. II. p. 90.

Master to have Letters Pattents for his discharge; and beinge found otherwyse, the Master to pay the Kinge or his Deputy that which shall apperteyne; and all the doinges and knowledgments shalbee kepte in the said Chest. And the foresaid Master shall never bee held nor challenged by any body, nor by the authority of the Kinge, always excepte th' assays of the Money shall be found defective." ^p

It appears from this extract that the Trial was then to be made regularly every three months^q; but in the reign immediately preceding it was not so; for, in the 6th year of Edward II., an Assay was made at Westminster, before the Barons of the Exchequer, of all the Pixes during the whole time that John de Pontoyse and Lapine Roger were Masters of the Mints of London and Canterbury, and Roger de Frowyk Exchanger of the same^r.

In like manner Assays occur in the early part of the reign of King Henry VI. for periods of various extent. In his third year, for example, was a Trial of the Silver Monies which had been coined at Calais between July 20, in the 10th year of Henry V. and Jan. 30, in the 2d year of Henry VI. In his 7th year the Monies which had been coined in the Tower of London and Vill of Calais, between Sept. 1, in his 4th year, and May 31, in his 6th year, were assayed. These Assays, with various others, are contained in an unclassed bundle in the Tower;

^p Indentures. Lansdown MSS. N. 745.

^q The Indenture of his 18th year expressly provided, that the Money should be publickly assayed, in the presence of the King's Council, before it was delivered to the Merchant. Lansdown MSS. 745.

^r Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

and from all of them it appears that, unless some alteration was made at the latter part of his reign, the Assays were in his time accustomed to be held at uncertain periods; and that his successor Edward IV. first restored the more regular mode of assaying every three months. In the 8th year of that Monarch it was provided that the Warden, the Changeour, the Assaieur, and the Countroller, should at all times oversee the Monies of Gold and Silver, and, after they had been assayed and proved for good, afore any deliverance should be made of the whole sum, take from every ten pound weight of Gold, by weight, the value of a Noble or more, and of every hundred pounds of Silver, by weight, two shillings or more, for the Assaies at Westminster, which were to be made every three months*. A practice nearly similar prevailed in the reign of Elizabeth, as appears from "A brief Note of those Things which are to be done by the Warden of the Mint," drawn up by Sir Richard Martyn, then Warden; in which he gives the following account of the proceedings at that time, after the Monies were coined and compleated: "Then," he says, "the Warden and Master shall putt them in one Cheaste, aboutt with twoe keayes, wherof the one shall remaine with the Warden, and th' other with the Master, untill proffe be maide of the seid Monies, and paiement ys made unto the merchaunt, which proffe shalbe made before the deliveraunce of enie Monies, in the presences of the Warden and the Master, by the Quene's Assayer. The same Assay to be taken as well of the fynnes as of the weight, by such quantitie, and after

* Indenture. *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 174.

such sorte as maie be agreed uppone by the seid Warden and Assay-master, without re-melting of the Monies^t.

“ And after the Assay of the Gold and Silver for good, before enie deliveraunce be maide of the holle somme, a portion of it, which remaneth to the Quene, shalbe put in a boxe, whereof the Assay shalbe maede, from time to time, before such of the Councell as the Quene shall appoyntte, viz. of euerie vij lb. weight of Gold one peace at the lesst of euerie seuerall Coyne of Golde, and after that ratte of all the Monies of Gould; and of every Journie of Silver contayning xxx lb. w^t tooe peaces at the least of euerie seuerall Coyne of Silver, and so after that ratte of all the Silver.

“ And when the seid portons of Gould and Siluer be taken and put in a boxe for to make the Assaies as aforeseide, they shalbe ensealid with the seale of the seid Warden and Master, and the boxe shalbe shutt with ij keies, the one shalbe towards the Warden, the other to the Master, which box shall remayne in the chest aforeseid.

“ And uppon reasonable warning therof given, it shalbe opnid once in three monnethes before some of the Quene's Counsell assined in the precencs of the seid Warden and Master, and ther shalbe maid Assaies as well of the finnes as of the waight of the seid Monies of Gold and Silver by enie meannes in the seid boxe.”^u

In the Answer of the Moniers to the Objections of Peter Blondeau, it is stated that this Trial for-

^t Any other method of assaying must have been extremely imperfect,

^u Harl. MSS. No 698, folio 15.

merly^w took place once every year; but at the time they wrote [*viz.* in the year 1651], it was when the State pleased^x. In the reign of George II. it was called for when two or three millions had been coined^y.

The practice of more modern times has been to call for a Trial of the Pix upon the appointment of a new Master of the Mint, in order that the one who has retired may receive his *Quietus*.

From the Record of the 9th or 10th year of Edward I., already quoted, and which is the most ancient hitherto discovered relating to this Trial, it appears, that, prior to the above date, it had usually been made before the King's Council; but, by the authority of that Writ, it was then to be held in the Court of Exchequer, in the presence of the Barons. It was afterward taken from their cognizance, and came again under the inspection of the Lords of the Council in the Star Chamber, where it is found to have been in the year 1595 (as appears from a Verdict of that date)^z, and where it continued until 1699, when it again became subject to the Court of Exchequer^a, under which it has remained to the present time.

As the authority under which these Trials were held occasionally varied, so did likewise, in consequence, the persons who sat as Judges in the Court. Thus, as we have seen above, they were first the

^w I am unable to say how ~~far~~ back this *formerly* of the Moniers was intended to go.

^x Answer of the Corporation of the Moniers in the Mint to two false and scandalous Libels, p. 25.

^y Pollett's MSS.

^z Mint Roll in the Exchequer.

^a Pollett's MS Notes on Conduit's Observations on the Trial of the Pix.

Members of the King's Council, then the Barons of the Exchequer, and again the Members of the Privy Council, as Judges of the Star Chamber, where sometimes the King himself presided; as did James I. at an Assay which was made upon the 9th of May 1611 ^b.

In 1643, a Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed, by order of Parliament, for the purpose of making this Trial ^c.

In 1644, it was ordered that the Commissioners of the Great Seal, who were Members of the House of Commons, and the Committee of the Revenue, should join as a Committee with the Earl of Kent and the Earl of Bolingbroke, for taking the Examination and Trial of the Pix in the Tower of London, in the usual place near the Star Chamber ^d.

On the 4th of November, in the following year, the Lords sent to the Commons an Order that a Trial of the Pix should be made on the 10th of that month in the usual place. This was agreed to, and the same persons appointed as were in 1644 ^e.

In the next year the Lords sent down a similar Order for the concurrence of the Commons; to which they agreed, and the Trial was ordered, by the Lords and Commons, to be held at the usual place, before the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Committee of Lords and Commons for his Majesty's Revenue, or any five or more of them ^f.

At one period (in 1649) the Court was held before the Lord President of the Council of State, the

^b See Annals of the Coinage, and Pollett's MS. Henry Prince of Wales was likewise present.

^c Pollett's MS.

^d Commons' Journals, vol. III. p. 561.

^e Id. vol. IV. p. 332.

^f Id. vol. V. pp. 69, 73.

Commissioners of the Great Seal, and others of the Council of State, and Committee of Revenues, by virtue of an Act of Parliament^e which was passed in the month of November in that year, to try the Monies coined from the 15th day of February 1646^h. At another time (in 1657), this Trial was made by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Justices of the several Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, or some of them, under the authority of a Warrant signed by the Protector Cromwellⁱ; and

^e This Act is not in Scobell's Collection. It passed upon the seventh of November 1649. See the Annals.

^h Folkes's Table of English Silver Coins, p. 100, note. The Coins then tried are all said to have been marked with a sceptre, and were therefore all coined before the King's death. This was consequently that same Trial of the Pix which Whitlocke says was ordered to be made at the charge of Sir Robert Harley, when he was put out of his place; and Dr. Guerdain's Pix was therefore not opened until the year 1657.

ⁱ This Trial, which took place on the 3d of December, was of the Monies coined from the 9th of November 1649, to that time, all of which were marked with the Sun, according to the Indenture with Dr. Guerdain, whereby it appears that this Trial was of Monies of the Commonwealth only. The warrant was as follows:

“ Oliver P.

“ Whereas, amongst other weighty affairs of the Commonwealth, the care of assaying and trying of the Monies thereof by the standard of England, according to the antient custom of the Realm, is not the least. We judging it necessary that the trial and assay of the said Money be forthwith made, do therefore hereby signify such our will and pleasure to be; commanding you forthwith to cause a trial and assay to be made of the Pix, now being in the Mint within the Tower of London, by a Jury of Goldsmiths of our said City of London, of integrity and experience, to be impannelled and sworn on a day certain, to be by you in that behalf appointed, in the place accustomed within our palace of Westminster; and that the Lords Commis-

the Court is now composed of such Members of the Privy Council as are expressly summoned for that purpose; the Lord High Chauncellor, or, in his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, presiding.

The manner in which this Trial was formerly conducted in the Court of Exchequer appears to have been by an Assay made in the presence of the Court, and to have been determined without the intervention of a Jury. At least such was the mode in the 12th year of Edward II. j, and in the 11th of Henry VI. ; in which last instance the Money was assayed by the King's Assay Master ^k.

In the 18th year of Edward III. it should seem that the newly-appointed Guardians of the Mint were to make the Assay ^l.

Not only the Pixes of the subordinate Mints in England were assayed in the Exchequer, but it is found that those of Ireland were sometimes transferred to the English Exchequer for that purpose.

In the 30th year of Edward I. the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland transmitted to England, under the Seal of that Court, a Pix, containing £.4. 3s. 1d. in Pennies, 13 Pence in Halfpennies, and 19 Pence

sioners of our Treasury, the Justices of the several Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, or some of them, be then there present, and counselling and assisting you in the due execution of this our service.

"Given at Whitehall this 9th day of November 1657.

"To our right trusty and well beloved Nath. Fiennes, and John Lisle, Lords Commissioners of our Great Seal of England."

[Folkes's Table, p. 99, note *, from the books of the Mint.]

j Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 291.

k Folkes, p. 60.

^l See the Annals, and Notices of Trials of the Pix under the year 1344.

in Ferlings, for the Assay. The Pix was opened in the presence of William Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Treasurer, John de Drokenford, Keeper of the Wardrobe, William de Carleton, Baron of the Exchequer of England, John de Kirkeby, Remembrancer, and John de Sandale, Warden of the Mint, at London, who were deputed by the King to make the Assay. That being done, it was found that all the Money agreed with the Standard of England; and therefore the Pix was returned to Alexander Norman de Luca, the King's Moneyer in Ireland; and the Barons were commanded to deliver without delay, to him or his attorney, another Pix then in their custody, together with the Money contained therein, for his benefit^m.

As I have not been able to discover any very antient ceremonial, by which the forms of this Trial were regulated, I shall first give the earliest I have found, which is of the age of Elizabeth, but professes to be the order of older times; and then proceed to detail the modern practice of summoning the Court and the Jury, and the manner in which the business is conducted, according to a Trial which took place on the 3d of July in the year 1799.

"The Order of rating thassays of the Mynts in the Realme of Ingland, by the Q. Mat^e most honorable Counsell, in the Starre Chamber of old tyme.

"First, the L. Chansell' or L. Keiper of the Great Seall for the tyme beinge, and the Tresurer of England, and other of the Counsell, have used to cause to be sommoned the Tresurer and all other Officers

^m Cl. 30 E. I. m. 6. It does not appear that any Trial was to be made of the second Pix here mentioned.

of the Mynt, and also the Master and Wardons of the Goldsmys of London, and xij other of the most wysect and discrete men of that Company, to appear before them the said Co'nsel in the Starre Chamber, at a sarten daye by them to be apoynted; and the said Tresurer and other Officers of the sayd Mynts, to bring with them, at that tyme and place, all ther Pixes, and ther severall Indenturs of Coynag, by and for the holle tyme the said Assaye shall be taken. In which Pixes ought to be, for every monethe they have used Coynage and no Assaye taken, one bag of lether, and the moneth written thereupon, and in the same certaine pec's of ev'ry jorny that was coyned the same moneth, which bage is wont to be called Sinthia.

“ Item, on the same daye of appearance there ought to be attendant uppon the sayd Co'nsell the L. Treasurer his Clarke, the Chamberlain's Depute of the receipt of the Q. Exchequer; bringing with them the Co'nter panes of thindenturs of the Coynage, the Standerds, and the Troye weights. The Q. Remembrancer of the said Court of the said Exchequer, or his Deputy, also to attend with the Records of the olde Assais, and to wright that appertaineth, and to take ther verdict, and to make a record therof accordynglye.

“ Item, the Co'nsell being assembled in the middle chamber, next the Mynt furnace in the said Stare Chamber, the said Tresurer and the other Officers ought to bring in the said Pixe or Pixes locked with their sev'all keys, and the same shall open with ther severall keys before the said Co'nsell, and then every bage, called Sinthia, for every moneth to be opened, and of so many pec's found in the said Sinthia as

would make a pound w^{ei}t of Silver or Gold Troye, to be weighed by Troye wights, and after to be numbered, to trye yf yt hold out in number, according to the Standerd and Indenture; and after that all the holle mony in every of the said baggs called Sinthia to be laid on one heape, and thereof taking so many pound w^{ei}ts as shall pleas the Coⁿsell to have put to the fyre to trye the Assaie. That done, the Wardens and Goldsmiths to be sworn to trye the said monye, and to take the Assaye accordyngly; the tenore of whose othe hereafter ensueth; that is to saye: Ye shall well and trewly, after your knolege and descrecions, make thassais of theis monys of Gold and Silver, and trewly report yf the said monys be in wight and fines accordyng to theis the King's Standerds of his Tresury, and allso yf the same monys be sufficient in allaie, &c. according to the covenant comprised in the Indentur therof mad betwyne the King's grace and the M^r. of his Mints, so help y^e Godde.

“ And that done, one of the said severall pond w^{ei}ts of the Mony put in severall fier potts to be delivered to the Formane of the Jurie to be molten and tryed by the Assaye, wherby yt may be knowen whether the said Pound w^{ei}ts containe so many oz and peney weits in puer and good Syllver as by the Standerd and Indenture is apoynted or not; and, as then yt shall be found by the said Jurye, to be syngnified unto the Coⁿsell, whos verdict with the number of all the other coyned by any suche Indenters, within the tyme of the said Assaye, to be delivered from the said Coⁿsell to the said Remembrancer, to record all ther doings accordingly as apertayneth.

“ Item, the lyke Assaye to be mad of the Gold, mutat’ mutand’.”^a

Such was the form of holding this Trial in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it was evidently derived from earlier times, as in the form of the Oath the Standard is called the King’s and not the Queen’s.

The modern practice is, for the Master of the Mint to present a Memorial praying for a Trial of the Pix. Upon’ this the Chancellor of the Exchequer moves his Majesty in Council, who commands the Trial to be holden, and the Members of the Privy Council are accordingly summoned to meet at a certain day and hour [eleven o’clock in the forenoon] at the House lately inhabited by the Usher within the Receipt of his Majesty’s Exchequer at Westminster°. A Precept is likewise directed, by the Lord High Chancellor, to the Wardens of the Goldsmiths’ Company, requiring them to nominate, and set down, the names of a competent number of sufficient and able Freemen of their Company^p, skilful to judge of, and to present the defaults of the Coins, if any should be found, to be of the Jury, to

^a Harl. MSS. No 698, folio 169. This Order was drawn up by Sir Richard Martyn, Warden of the Mint.

° This house is now allotted to the Office of Deputy Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer. It was inhabited by the Usher in 1799.

^p The earliest notice that has occurred in which the judgment of professional Artists alone was required to sanction, as a Jury, the decision of the Court, is dated in the 37th of Elizabeth, when a Trial was held in the Star Chamber. [Mint Roll in the Exchequer.] In the 32d year of Henry III. there were to be 12 Goldsmiths in a Jury of 24 men. See above, under that year.

attend at the same time and place. This number is usually twenty-five, of which the Assay-Master of the Company is always one.

When the Court is formed, the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company returns the Precept, together with the List of Names; the Jury is called over, and twelve persons are sworn^q.

The President then gives his Charge, which used formerly to be general, like the Oath, to examine by fire, by water, by touch, or by weight, or by all, or by some of them, in the most just manner, whether the Monies were made according to the Indenture, and Standard Trial Pieces, and within the Remedies: but in 1734 the Lord High Chancellor Talbot directed the Jury to express precisely how much the Money was within the Remedies^r; and the practice which he thus enjoined is still continued. The other parts of the Charge necessarily vary according to the ability of the President, and his knowledge of the subject.

When it is concluded, the Pix is delivered to the Jury, and the Court is commonly adjourned to the House of the President, where the Verdict is afterward delivered in writing.

The Jury then retires to the Court-room of the Duchy of Lancaster, whither the Pix is removed,

^q The number of the Jurors has, occasionally, varied very considerably. No less than nineteen names appear to the Verdict of the 37th of Elizabeth [Mint Roll in the Exchequer]; and in 1651 the Moneyers speak of a Jury of twenty-four men. [Answer to Blondeau, p. 27.]

^r Conduitt's Remarks on the Trial of the Pix Pollett's MSS. He says this was done at the instigation of one Banks, the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company.

together with the weights of the Exchequer and Mint^a, and where the Scales which are used upon this occasion are suspended, the beam of which is so delicate that it will turn with six grains, when loaded with the whole of those weights, to the amount of 48lb. 8 oz. in each scale^t.

The Jury being seated, the Indenture, or the Warrant, under which the Master has acted, is read. Then the Pix is opened, and the Money which had been taken out of each Delivery^u, and enclosed in a separate paper parcel, under the seals of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint, is given into the hands of the Foreman, who reads aloud the Indorsement, and compares it with the Account which lies before him. He then delivers the parcel to one of the Jury, who opens it, and examines whether its contents agree with the indorsement.

From the Minutes which I took at a Trial of the Pix in the year 1799 it appears that it then contained,

^a In the year 1799 these weights were compared together, and found to agree. There are no Grains nor Pennyweights among the Exchequer weights. They are therefore provided by the Mint or the Jury. [Conduitt. Pollett's MS.]

^t On seeing the accuracy of the beam which was used in the reign of Charles I., Attorney-general Noy exclaimed, "I should be loath that all my actions should be weighed in these scales. [Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. II. p. 208.]

^u By this term is to be understood the Monies which have been coined within a certain period; and the pieces are thus set apart from the gross sum for trial.

From every Journey, as it is technically styled, of Gold or Silver, two pieces, at the least, of each sort of Money, are taken at hazard, one for the private Assay, the other for the publick Trial. A Journey of Gold is fifteen pounds weight; a Journey of Silver sixty pounds.

GOLD.

Guineas - - - - - 7590;
 Half Guineas - - - - - 1085,
 Thirds of Guineas, or Pieces of Seven Shillings 1073;
 making by Tale £.8914. 13s. 6d. being the Pieces
 taken from ninety-three Deliveries, from the 3d of
 December 1794 to the 27th of March 1799, which
 Deliveries amounted in weight to 146,220 lb.

The Silver Coins in the Pix were only one Groat,
 one Quarter Shilling, one Half Groat, and one
 Penny; making by Tale ten Pence. They were
 taken from one Delivery of 94 lb. 8 oz. 10 dwt. on
 the 16th of December 1795.

When all the parcels of Gold were opened, and
 found to be right, then the Monies contained in
 them were mixed together in wooden bowls, and af-
 terwards weighed in five parts.

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
The first weighed - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The second - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The third - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The fourth - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The fifth - - - - -	20	1	6	0
Making together - - - - -	190	9	8	0

By calculation, at the rate of £.46. 14s. 6d. to
 the Pound Troy, which is the proportion required
 by the Indenture, they ought to have weighed
 190 lb. 9 oz. 9 dwt. 15 gr.; so that they were defi-
 cient one Pennyweight fifteen Grains. But the
 Remedy on 190 lb. 9 oz. 9 dwt. 15 gr. is 1 lb. 3 oz.
 18 dwt. 0 gr.; they were therefore within the Re-
 medy by 1 lb. 3 oz. 16 dwt. 9 gr.*

* Verdict returned by the Jury.

The Jury then took from the said Monies so mingled together, 34 Guineas, 13 Half Guineas, and 12 Seven Shillings Pieces, for the Assay by fire. The above Coins were all the different sorts contained in the Pix. By Tale they amounted to £.46. 14s. 6d. and they were in weight exactly one Pound ; which is the quantity taken for that purpose, particular attention being paid that some of every sort of Coin shall be selected.

The indented Standard Trial Pieces of Gold and Silver*, of the dates specified in the Indenture,

* The Trial Pieces are in the custody of the Auditor and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, who produce them in obedience to a Warrant which is directed to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the Master has reason to suspect that the Trial Pieces, which are specified in the Indenture, are inaccurate, he has a right to demand that they may be compared with the indented Standard Trial Pieces, which were made in the seventeenth year of Edward IV. To these pieces, whose corresponding parts are kept in the Exchequer and in the Tower, the following Certificate is annexed, which will shew with how much solemnity these Standards were prepared, and their purity attested :

“The first day of July, the xvij. yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, Robert Hill, William Wodeward, John Kyrkeby, and Miles Ades, were sworn upon the hooly Evangeliste in the Sterre Chamber, before the Chauncelor of England, Tresourer, and Pryve Seale, and many other noble Lords of the Kyng's Councell sp'uall and temp'all, to make this Standard of xxij. carrats iij. greynes and an halfe of p'fite fyne Gold, and half a greyne of Allay, accordyng to the old Standard, as it appereth in the Record in the Kyng's Chauncery and Eschequer of Kyng Edward the ijde and Kyng Richard the Secunde, Henry the iiijth, the vth, and the vjth, Kyngs of England. The which Robert Hill, William Wodeward, John Kyrkeby, and Miles Ades, have certified that this Standard is truly made as is aforesaid.”

The Certificate which is annexed to the Silver agrees with the above, except that it is stated to be of “xj. uncs and ij. peny-weight of p'fite fyne Sylver, and xvij^d weight of Allay.”

were then produced by the proper Officer, and a sufficient quantity cut off from each, and compared with the Pound weight of Gold Coin, and the aforesaid several pieces of Silver Coin, by the usual methods of Assay.

When that operation was finished, the Jury returned their Verdict, that the Gold Coins were in weight and in allay sufficient according to the terms of the Indenture; as were also the Silver Coins in allay; but the quantity of them was too small to allow their agreement in weight to be ascertained^y.

I cannot dismiss this account of the Trial of the Pix without observing that, according to the mode by which it is now conducted, it is little better than an idle ceremony.

In the first place the number of pieces selected for the Assay may not be equal to the number of Deliveries; by which it will happen that the Coins of some Deliveries will not be subjected to any trial.

In the instance which has been recorded above, there were ninety-three Deliveries, but the pieces selected were no more than fifty-nine: so that, supposing each piece to have been taken from a different Delivery, there must have been thirty-four from which no specimens were brought to the Assay.

It is true that this method of taking a certain number of pieces, from the whole sum set apart for

I know not whether these were the first Trial Pieces which were ever made; but it will be seen in the Notices of this Trial, under the year 1349, that the Nobles were tried by comparing them with Florins of Florence. See in the Annals, under the year 1649, an account of the making two Standard Pieces, one of Gold and the other of Silver, by order of the Parliament.

^y See the Verdict in the Appendix, where Notices of various Trials are given.

the Assay, has been for ages the practice of the Mint; but in former times the Trials were so frequent that each Delivery had, at least, its chance for examination; and it seems, also, that not one pound weight only was taken, but as many as were thought necessary for the Assay^z.

This circumstance affords a very weighty objection against the present mode of conducting this Trial; but there is another impropriety attending it, which is infinitely more important.

The original intent of this examination was, doubtless, to check, by its frequent recurrence^a, all temptation to the issue of Coins inferior to the Standard; but the modern practice affords but little security in that respect, on account of the long intervals which are allowed to take place between the Trials; and the large sums which are coined during those periods.

Thus the Trial in 1799 was an Assay of the Coins minted during a period of somewhat more than four years, amounting in weight to 146,220 lb. or about seven millions of money. Nearly the whole of this sum must have been in circulation before it was ascertained, by the Verdict of a Jury, that it was agreeable to the Standard. Had it proved to be deficient, the Master of the Mint would have been liable to punishment; but the Publick must have borne all the inconveniences attending the circulation of that base Money, which could not have

^z See page 204.

^a The necessity for this frequent recurrence seems to have been well understood by the Government in the reign of James II., when, in the Act for a free Coinage in Scotland, it was ordered that an Assay should be made of every Journal distinctly once every year in the month of December. Scots Acts, 1st Parl. James VII. 2d Sess. Chap. XXIV.

been recalled without great trouble and expense, and which would have ceased to be a legal tender from the moment of its detection.

Thus has this Trial, which is of immense importance for preserving the integrity of the Money, shrunk by degrees into almost an empty show : of consequence only to the Master of the Mint, who cannot obtain his *Quietus* until the Coins have been submitted to it, but perfectly nugatory with respect to the Publick, as it no longer operates as a *frequent* check upon the private Assays of the Mint. For, supposing any improper combination should be formed by those Officers in whose presence alone that Assay is made (which, however improbable, the events of former times have proved not to be impossible ^b), several millions of base Coins might be issued before the Publick could be aware of the deception ; which, when it should be discovered, would fix a suspicion upon all the Money then in circulation, and bring on mischief incalculable.

It appears then to be absolutely necessary that this Trial should be restored to its pristine form ; and that the private Assays should be confirmed, as soon as possible, by this solemn Trial ^c.

^b See in the reign of Edward VI the frauds which were practised by Sir William Sharington in the Mint at Bristol.

^c Previous to the Re-coinage of the Gold Coin in 1774, experiments were made of the fineness of the Gold Coin issued in the reigns of our several Princes from Charles II. to the present time, by melting Guineas of each reign into ingots of 15lbs. each ; and from the contrary ends of each ingot Assays were made, by which it appeared that in former reigns the Gold Coins were worse than Standard in the following proportions :

Charles II.	26 Grains Troy worse than Standard	9s. 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. per cent.
James II.	30 - - - - -	11s. 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. per cent.
William	13 - - - - -	4s. 11 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per cent.

OF THE LAWS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF
THE MONEY.

The Money, when compleated and issued for currency, has ever been guarded with extreme jealousy. Thus, by the Anglo-Saxon Laws, he who counterfeited the Coins was to lose the hand by which the crime was committed^d. To this punishment, already sufficiently severe, the cruel policy of the Anglo-Norman Kings added loss of sight and emasculation^e.

The Author of that Commentary on the Laws of England which is known by the name of Fleta, thus enumerates the different species of falsification and counterfeiting the Coins, which were contrary to, and punishable by, those Laws at the time when he wrote, which is determined by Selden to have been in the reign of Edward I.^f

He says: "*Crimen falsi dicitur, quum quis falsam fabricaverit Monetam; vel de non reproba reprobam fecerit, sicut Tonsores Monetæ, hoc quidem crimen ultimum inducit supplicium.*"

"*Sunt etiam fabricatores falsæ Monetæ sine Cuneo; & sunt Monetarii Regis, qui ultra Assisam licitam Argenti Laccum imponunt, quidam autem*

Anne	-	7 Grains Troy worse than Standard	2s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per cent.
George I.	6	- - - - -	2s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per cent.
George II.	3	- - - - -	1s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per cent.

George III. Standard. [Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 182, note.]

^d Vide *Leges Ang. Sex.* pp. 59 and 134.

^e See *Annals of Coinage*, in the year 1105.

^f *Dissertatio ad Fletam*, vol. III. col. 1114.

debitum Pondus Libræ non apponunt, & quidam falsam Monetam fabricant in toto, & quidam sunt Monetæ Tonsores; qui omnes agentes & consentientes tractari & suspendi debent, & Fœminæ concremari; & ab initio in majori Excommunicatione sunt involuti.”^g

It appears from the punishment which is here denounced against this crime that it was treason by the Common Law; but it was not declared to be so by any Statute until that of the 25th of Edward III. Statute the 5th, chap. 2^h, by which counterfeiting the King's Coin, and bringing into the Realm counterfeit Money to the likeness of the King's Coin, &c. were made Treason.

I shall give Sir Edward Coke's Commentary upon this Statute, which contains a full statement of the Law as it stood in his time.

The words of the Statute are: “Et si ho'me contreface les gant ou Prive Sealx le Roi, ou sa Monoie, et si ho'me apport faus Monoie en ceste Roialme contrefaite a la Monoie Denglet're, sicome la Monoie appelle { Lucynburgh, } ou autre semblable { Lusseburgh, } a la dite Monoie Denglet're, sachant la Monoie estre faus, p^r marchander, ou paiement faire en deceit n're dit Seign^r le Roi & son poeple et fait a entendre qen les cases suisnomez doit estre ajugge Treson [q' sestent] a n're Seign^r le

^g Fleta, as quoted by Mr. North in his Remarks on some Conjectures, p. 31.

^h Sir Matthew Hale says, that, before this Statute, Clergy was allowed in this and other Treasons; but it was now taken away in all cases of Treason whatsoever. [Pleas of the Crown, part II. p. 331.]

Roi et a sa Roial Majeste; et de tiele man'e de Treson la forfait're des eschetes app'tient a n're Seignr le Roi, si bien des l'res & ten'z tenuz des aut's, come de lui meismes."ⁱ

That is: "And if a man counterfeit the King's Great or Privy Seal, or his Money; and if a man bring false Money into this Realm, counterfeit to the Money of England, as the Money called Lushburgh, or other, like to the said Money of England, knowing the Money to be false, to merchandise or make payment in deceit of our said Lord the King, and of his people;

. . . . And it is to be understood, that in the cases above rehearsed, [that] ought to be judged Treason, which extends to our Lord the King and his Royal Majesty: And of such Treason, the forfeiture of the Escheats pertaineth to our Sovereign Lord, as well of the Lands and Tenements holden of other, as of himself."^j

On this Statute Sir Edward Coke has left the following observations:

"This crime was Treason by the Common Law, as it appeareth by all the ancient Authors referred to below^k; and therefore the opinion in 3 Henry VII. is holden for no Law, that it was but Felony before this Act.

"The forging of the King's Coin is High Treason,

ⁱ Stat. 25 E. III. Stat. 5. c. 2.

^j Both this translation, and also the preceding copy of the text, are taken from the edition of the Statutes published in 1810 by his Majesty's command.

^k Bract. 1. 3. fol. 118. Brit. fol. 10, &c. Fleta, 1. 1. ca. 21. Mirror, ca. 1. § 6, de faussonerie. 29 Ass. p. 49. Glanvill, lib. 14, cap. 7. See Statute 27 E. I. cap. 3.

without utterance of it; for by this Act the counterfeiting is made High Treason.

“Si ipse qui facit Monetam autoritate Regis, &c. illam facit minus in pondere, vel alliata, viz. Alcumino vel alio falso metallo contra ordinationem, &c.¹

“This is holden to be High Treason, and by that book taken for a counterfeiting of the King's Money within the purview of this Statute. And herewith agreeth Britton, who saith, ‘Des fauceres, q' ount nostre Monye counterfeit ou plus de allaye mise in nostre Monye, q' mister ne serroit solonq' le forme & usage de nostre Realme^m.

“‘Ordeine fuit q' nul Roy de cest Realme ne puit changer sa Money, ne impairer, ne amender, ne autre Monye faire q' de Ore & Argent, sans lassent de tous les countes.’

“It was ordained that no King of this Realm might not change his Money, nor impair nor amend the same, nor other Money make than of Gold or Silver, without assent of Parliamentⁿ.

“Clipping, washing, and filing of the Money of this Realm was no counterfeiting of it within this Act. And therefore, being a like case, it was declared by Parliament, 3 Henry V. cap. 6, to be High Treason; but that Act being repealed by 1 Mary, the Statute 5 Elizabeth, cap. 11, hath declared clip-

¹ 3 H. VII. 10. a. b.

^m See inter Leges Athelstani, ca. 14. Canuti, ca. 61. Britton. cap. 5, fo. 10. b. See the Mirror, ca. 1, § 6; De la Mony falsifie acc' with 3 H. VII. and ca. 5, § 1; and Fleta, ca. 22, acc'.

ⁿ Mirr. ca. 1, § 3, inter Artic. perviels Royes ordeinus. Rot. Par. 17 E. III. N^o 15. 45 E. III. ca. 13. 9 H. V. ca. 1. Stat. 2. Artic. super Chartas, cap. 20.

ping, washing, rounding, or filing, *for wicked lucre and gain*, &c. to be High Treason. And by Statute 18 Elizabeth, cap. 1, it is declared, that if any person, *for wicked lucre or gain's sake*, shall by any art, ways, or means whatsoever, impair, diminish, falsify, scale or lighten the King's Money, &c. it is High Treason; for being a like case, it was to be declared by Parliament.

“Forging or counterfeiting of foreign Money, which is not current within the Realm, is Misprision of Treason, and the offender shall forfeit as for concealment of High Treason.”^o

Upon the words SA MONEY, he remarks “that the crime of Treason extendeth only to the King's Money coined within this Realm; and therefore after this Statute, if a man had counterfeited the Money of another Kingdom, though it were current within this Realm, it was no Treason, until it was so declared by Parliament in 1 Mary, cap. 6, and in 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 11; and the said Acts of 5 and 18 Elizabeth do extend to foreign Coin current within this Realm.”^p

“And it is holden, that, at the making of this Statute, 25 Edward III., there was no Money current within this Realm but the King's own Coin. See the Statute called Statutum de Moneta Magnum, and Statutum de Moneta Parvum^q.

“And it is to be known, that if any do counterfeit the King's Coin, contrary to this Statute of 25

^o Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 3.

^p Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 3, as stated above, makes the forging foreign Coin not current within the Realm Misprision of Treason.

^q Vet. Mag. Carta, Part. 2, fol. 38, 39, 40.

Edward III. he shall have punishment of his body, but as in case of Petit Treason, that is, to be drawn and hanged until he be dead ; but the forfeiture of his lands is as in other cases of High Treason, for this Statute is but a declaration of the Common Law ; and the reason of his corporal punishment is, for that in this case he was only drawn and hanged at the Common Law, but a woman in that case was to be burnt^r.

“ The Abbot of Missenden, in the county of Buckingham, for counterfeiting and resection of the King's Money, was adjudged to be drawn and hanged, and not quartered^s.

“ The want of observation of the said distinction hath made some to err in their judgment. Nota, this Act of 25 Edward III. maketh no expression of the judgment, therefore such judgment as was at the Common Law, either in case of High Treason or Petit Treason, must be given.

“ But if one be attainted for diminishing the King's Money, upon any of the Statutes made in Queen Mary's or Queen Elizabeth's time, because it is High Treason newly made, the offender shall have judgment as in case of High Treason.

“ SI HOME APPORT FAUX MONEY EN CEST ROIALME, COUNTERFEIT AU MONEY DANGLITERRE, & SACHANT LE MONEY ESTRE FAUX, &c.

“ By this branch, six things are to be observed :

^r Fleta, lib. 1, cap. 22, who wrote before this Statute, which is but a Law declaratory, as it appeareth before. 23 Ass. p. 2. Dier. 6 Eliz. Term. Tr. MS. pro tonsura Monete trabe & pend. Tr. 24 H. VIII. in Justice Spilman's Reports, accord.

^s Mich. 31 E. III. coram Rege. Rot. 55. Buck. within six years after making our Statute.

“ First, that the bringing in of counterfeit Money, and not the counterfeiting, is expressed in this word [APPORT.]

“ Secondly, that it must be brought from a foreign nation, and not from Ireland, or other place belonging to, or being a member of, the Crown of England; and so it hath been resolved^t, so wary are Judges to expound this Statute concerning Treason, and that in most benign sense. For, albeit Ireland be a distinct kingdom, and out of the Realm of England to some purposes, as to protection and fines levied, &c.^u yet to some intent it is accounted as a member of, or belonging to, the Crown of this Realm. And therefore a Writ of Error is maintainable here in the King’s Bench of a Judgment given in the King’s Bench in Ireland, so as the Judges did construe this Statute not to extend to false Money brought out of Ireland.

“ Thirdly, it must be to the similitude of the Money of England.

“ Fourthly, that the bringer of it into this realm must know it to be counterfeit.

“ Fifthly, uttering of false Money in England, though he know it to be false and counterfeit to the likeness of the Coin of England, is no Treason within this Statute, unless he brought it from a foreign nation; for the words be, ‘SI HOME APPORT FAUX MONEY EN CEST REALME.’^w But if Money, false or clipped, be found in the hands of any that is suspicious, he may be imprisoned until he hath found his warrant, per Statutum de Moneta magnum. Vet. Mag. Cart. fol. 38, 2 parte.

^t 7 H. VII. 10.

^u Lib. 7. Calvin’s Case.

^w 3 H. VII. 10.

“ Lastly, he must merchandize therewith, or make payment thereof, expressed in these words, **PUR MERCHANDIZER, OU PAIEMENT FAIRE IN DECEIPT NOSTRE SEIGNIOR LE ROY, ET SON PEOPLE** ^x.

“ By Statute 8 and 9 William III. c. 26, made perpetual by 7 Ann, c. 25, whoever, without proper authority, shall knowingly make or mend, or assist in so doing, or shall buy, sell, conceal, or hide, or knowingly have in his possession, any implements of Coinage specified in the Act, or other tools or instruments proper only for the Coinage of Money, or shall convey the same out of the King's Mint, he, together with his counsellors, procurers, aiders, and abettors, shall be guilty of High Treason; which is by much the severest branch of the Coinage Law. The Statute goes on further, and enacts, that to mark any Coin on the edges with letters, or otherwise, in imitation of those used in the Mint, or to colour, gild, or case over, any Coin resembling the current Coin, or even round blanks of base metal, shall be construed High Treason. And by Statute 15 and 16 George II. c. 28, if any person colours or alters any Shilling or Sixpence, either lawful or counterfeit, to make them respectively resemble a Guinea or Half Guinea, or any Halfpenny or Farthing, to make them respectively resemble a Shilling or Sixpence; this is also High Treason ^y.

Other offences against the Money are only Felony, such as, for instance, is the crime of making, coining, buying, or bringing in, and putting in pay-

^x Coke's 3d Institute, cap. 1. Of High Treason.

^y Blackstone's Commentaries, Book IV. chap. 6.

ment, &c. any Galley Halfpence, Suskyn, or Dotkyn^a.

“The reason of this law was, for that those Monies were base, and not of the Alloy of Sterling, which was (amongst others) the cause of making the general law of 9 Henry V. cap. 6, Stat. 2.

“It is also Felony to pay, or receive for payment, any Money called Blanks^a.

“For the better understanding of this Statute, it is to be known that these Blanks were white Money coined by King Henry V. in France, after his victory at Agincourt, and league with France, whose style then was, Rex Angliæ, Regens & Hæres Franciæ.

“And they were called Blanks or Whites in respect of the colour, because at the same time he coined also a Salus in Gold. The Salus, being of the value of twenty-two Shillings, was of the Alloy of Sterling; but the Blanks, which were much more common, being each of them valued at eight pence, were not of the Alloy of Sterling, and therefore they only were decried by the said Act of 2 Henry VI.

“For either of these offences of Felony the offender may have his Clergy^b.

It is also Felony to transport Silver, or to import false or evil Money.

“Defendue fuit que nul Argent serra transport hors del Realm^c.

^a 3 H. V. cap. 1.

^a 2 H. VI. cap. 9.

^b Coke, 3 Institute, cap. 30. Of Felony by bringing in, payment or receipt of certain Money.

^c Mirror, c. 1, § 3. Inter les Articles de viels Roys ordeins.

“ This was the antient law of England, long before the Conquest.

“ At the Parliament holden anno 17 Edward III. as well the transportation of Silver, as the importation of false or evil Money, is enacted by authority of that Parliament to be Felony. And also if the Searchers, mentioned in the Act, be assenting to the bringing in of false Money, or willingly suffer Silver or Money to be transported, it is also made Felony. The offenders may have the benefit of their Clergy.”^d

The following minor offences against the Money, and the several Statutes relating to them, which have been made since the time of Sir Edward Coke, are thus enumerated by Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England :

“ By Statute 6 and 7 William III. c. 17, if any person buys or sells, or knowingly has in his custody, any clippings or filings of the Coin, he shall forfeit the same and £.500 ; one moiety to the King, and the other to the informer, and be branded in the cheek with the letter R.

“ By Statute 8 and 9 William III. c. 26, if any person shall blanch or whiten Copper for sale (which makes it resemble Silver) ; or buy or sell, or offer to sale, any malleable composition, which shall be heavier than Silver, and look, touch, and wear like Gold, but be beneath the Standard ; or if any person shall receive or pay any counterfeit or diminished milled Money of this Kingdom, not being cut in pieces (an operation which is expressly directed to be performed when any such Money shall be pro-

^d Coke, 3d Institute, cap. 31. Of Felony for transportation of Silver, or importation of false or evil Money, &c.

duced in evidence, and which any person, to whom any Gold or Silver Money is tendered, is empowered, by Statutes 9 and 10 William III. c. 21, 13 George III. c. 71, and 14 George III. c. 70, to perform at his own hazard, and the Officers of the Exchequer and Receivers General of the Taxes are particularly required to perform), at a less rate than it shall import to be of (which demonstrates a consciousness of its baseness and a fraudulent design); all such persons shall be guilty of Felony.

“ But these precautions not being found sufficient to prevent the uttering of false or diminished Money, which was only a Misdemeanor at Common Law, it is enacted by Statute 15 and 16 G. II. c. 28, that if any person shall utter or tender in payment any counterfeit Coin, knowing it so to be, he shall, for the first offence, be imprisoned six months, and find sureties for his good behaviour for six months more: for the second offence, shall be imprisoned two years, and find sureties for two years longer: and for the third offence, shall be guilty of Felony without benefit of Clergy. Also if a person knowingly tenders in payment any counterfeit Money, and at the same time has more in his custody; or shall, within ten days after, knowingly tender other false Money; he shall be deemed a common utterer of counterfeit Money, and shall for the first offence be imprisoned one year, and find sureties for his good behaviour for two years longer; and for the second be guilty of Felony without benefit of Clergy.

“ The same Statute also enacted, that, if any person counterfeited the Copper Coin, he should suffer two years imprisonment, and find sureties for two years more.

“ By Statute 11 G. III. c. 40. persons counterfeit-
ing Copper Halfpence or Farthings, with their abet-
tors ; or buying, selling, receiving, or putting off any
counterfeit Copper Money (not being cut in pieces
or melted down) at a less value than it imports to be,
shall be guilty of single Felony. And by a tempo-
rary Statute (14 G. III. c. 42.) if any quantity of
Money, exceeding the sum of five Pounds, being or
purporting to be the Silver Coin of this realm, but
below the Standard of the Mint in weight or fine-
ness, shall be imported into Great Britain or Ireland,
the same shall be forfeited in equal moieties to the
Crown and Prosecutor.” *

By Statute 37 G. III. c. 126. the provisions of the
Statute 15 G. II. relating to the Copper Money of
the realm commonly called An Halfpenny and a Far-
thing, were extended to all other Copper Monies
of the realm to be hereafter coined and issued by
his Majesty's authority.

By the same Statute the counterfeiting of any fo-
reign Gold or Silver Coin, or the bringing such into
the realm, with the intent of passing it, was made
Felony.

The uttering, or tendering in payment, any such
counterfeit Money, knowing the same to be coun-
terfeit, was punishable in the same manner as it was
by the Act 15 G. II.

And if any person should have more than five
pieces of such counterfeit Money in his custody,
without lawful excuse, he should forfeit the same,
and likewise a sum not exceeding five Pounds, nor
less than forty Shillings, for every such piece.

* Blackstone's Commentaries, Book IV. chap. 7.

And Justices were empowered to search suspected places for such counterfeit Money, and to seize the same, together with the tools and materials used for making the same.

By Statute 43 G. III. c. 139, the counterfeiting any foreign Coin, either of Copper or of any other metal of less value than Silver, or the passing the same, was made a Misdemeanor, and the offender to be imprisoned for any time not exceeding one year for the first offence; and for the second to be transported for seven years. And it was enacted, that if any person should have more than five such counterfeited pieces in his possession, he should forfeit not more than forty Shillings, nor less than ten Shillings, for every such piece.

Power was given, by this Statute, to search and seize, as under the Act of the 37th G. III.

The offenders against these Statutes are excluded from all General Pardons, except in one instance, which occurs in the 13th year of Henry IV.^f; I know not whether by design or otherwise.

These Statutes, however, severe as many of them are, have ever proved to be inadequate to the protection of the Coins^g, and therefore subordinate

^f Cl. 13 H. IV. m. 32. dors.

^g The censures of the Church seem to have been equally disregarded. As early as the year 1123, Counterfeiters of the Money, and also the Circulators of base Coin, were declared, by the Council of Lateran, to be accursed, oppressors of the poor, disturbers of the State, and excommunicated. These denunciations were repeated in other Councils; and by that of Tours, in 1583, those persons who had received false Money, or that which might be suspected as such, were forbidden to circulate it, although they were not concerned in the falsification of it, and were even ignorant of the person by whom it was counterfeited. J. Cabassutii, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 413, 659.

means have always been resorted to for the preservation of their integrity.

We have seen, before, that the Trial of the Pix, in its original purity, was sufficient for their defence from fraudulent practices before they were issued from the Mint; and, accordingly, our Ancestors ventured to receive Money into the King's Exchequer as if it were of full weight and fineness, and considered the Coins to be, as they were intended to be, equal in weight and in tale. Such receipts were entered in this manner—"Denarii, &c. &c. ad numerum."^h But it could not long escape notice, that, although the Coins might issue from the Mint in perfect purity, yet they soon afterward became obnoxious to the depredations of unprincipled men, who not only impaired the legal Money, by various modes of rendering it deficient in weight, but also fraudulently forced into currency counterfeit Coins of base Alloy.

The provisions by which the Receipt of the Exchequer was guarded against the fraud of deficiency of weight were these—SOLUTIO AD SCALAMⁱ, and

^h See Domesday Book, *passim*.

ⁱ Sir Matthew Hale has given a very singular explanation of this term, which he thought to mean a Measure; and that in time this measuring of Money was turned into a certain allowance, to avoid trouble. [1 P. C. 205.] But if the Money were not measured, it must be either weighed or counted, so that it is difficult to say what trouble would be saved by this alteration. Of all the modes of payment, that by measuring must of necessity be the most unequal, and I believe was never resorted to as a general practice. *Scala* certainly was used for a Dish in the barbarous Latin of the middle ages; but no instance can, I presume, be found in which that term was applied in that sense to any mode of payment. Sir Matthew Hale has not produced any

AD PENSUM. Though these terms are synonymous, yet the proceedings under each mode were totally different.

The Payment *ad Scalam* seems to have been originally intended to save the trouble of counting the Money; a purpose which would be compleatly answered by it, provided the Coins were undiminished^k. But it must soon have been discovered, that even the regular wear of the Coins, in the common course of currency, would, in a short time after they were issued from the Mint, render this mode of payment inaccurate.

An attempt was made to compensate this error by a general payment of six Pence in addition to every Pound in Tale; but the impropriety of applying one general principle to particular cases, infinitely varying, must soon have been experienced^l, and, it is probable, occasioned the introduction of that mode of payment which was distinguished by the name of *ad Pensum*. This was totally different from the

such. His interpretation of this word raises a suspicion that the Treatise on Sheriffs' Accounts, which is usually attributed to him, was not his work, as *ad Scalam* is there rightly explained, at p. 17.

^k This practice is still used in the Bank of England. I have seen 5000 new Guineas received there, by counting the first thousand, and then weighing the other four successively against it.

^l I have not been able to discover when the Payment *ad Scalam* commenced. It does not occur in Domesday Book; and the earliest instance produced by Madox is of the reign of Henry I., though he speaks of it as having been used in the most antient times next after the Norman Conquest. [History of the Exchequer, vol. i. p. 274.] He has traced it no lower than the 33d year of Edward I. [Id. p. 277]; nor have I met with it in later times.

former, for the whole deficiency of weight, whatever its amount might be, was to be made good.

Entries of this kind occur in every column of Domesday Book, in various forms: as Lib. ad pensum, ad pondus, ad peis, pensatas, cum pensione, cum pondere^m; and these are frequently coupled with a term expressive of a further proof of the Money, which had even then become necessary, from a corruption of its Alloy.

This proof was obtained by actually melting down a certain portion of the sum paid in, and reducing it to the due fineness. The process was called Combustio, and was sometimes compounded for at the rate of an addition of one twentieth partⁿ; but yet this was nevertheless distinguished by the same name as if it had been assayed, and was said to be dealbated or blanché.

It is obvious, however, that in many cases the payment of one twentieth part would not bear any exact proportion to the baseness of the Coins, and that, consequently, the Officers of the Exchequer must, at times, have demanded compensations more nearly adequate to the circumstances of the Money^o. In order to ascertain the true proportion between Money Blank, and by Tale, the Combustion was sometimes repeated more than once for the same sum. Thus in the 14th H. III. the Sheriffs of London paid at the Exchequer £.214. 6s. 3d. part of

^m See a Collection of the different forms in which payments were entered in Domesday Book, in the Appendix.

ⁿ Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 275.

^o Id. The Money was sometimes entered as if weighed in bags, but it was still liable to examination by Combustion. [Id. p. 237.]

the Ferm of that City. The Money was right by weight, but being brought to the Examen by fire, it lacked upon the first Assay *xiiijd. per Pound*, and upon the second Assay *xijd.* The Sheriffs challenged both Assays, and desired a third. But the Treasurer and Barons not being willing to proceed to a third Assay without further advice, the Ferm was entered at *vijd. per Pound Blank*, as if the third Assay had taken place, reserving the King's right to Combustion; so that if on a third Combustion it proved to be more deficient, a greater allowance should be made, according to the Laws and Custom of the Exchequer^p. I believe that no instance can be produced of the Combustion of Gold Coins^q.

Such were the means devised to protect the Revenues of the Crown from being defrauded by light or base Money; and they seem to have been well calculated for that purpose, as the payments were large, and proper Officers were constantly attending to perform the different operations.

But it is evident that such an examination of Money could not obtain a place in the common transactions between man and man; for very few indeed would be competent to perform the operation of Assaying; nor, if all had been so qualified, could the time have been spared from the more necessary transactions of business. The Trial of Money, therefore, by Assay, must have been chiefly, if not altogether, confined to payments made to the Officers of the Revenue.

^p Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 283, note (o).

^q Madox gives some entries of Combustions of that Metal [Id. *ibid.*]; but they are of Goldsmith's work, not of Money.

The other mode of Trial, by weighing each individual Coin, was in use at a very early period; and weights for that purpose were issued from the Mints in the 6th year of John^r, and probably before that time.

It should seem, however, that these legal weights were discontinued in succeeding reigns; for otherwise, the deception, by which a Monk, of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, contrived to defraud those who made payments to that Abbey, of whose rents he was the Receiver, could not have been practised. This happened in the year 1335, and was effected by taking advantage of the unequal manner in which the Coins were then formed; for he selected the heaviest of them, against which he weighed all the Money that was paid to him. By this apparently fair, but really fraudulent transaction, he gained sometimes five Shillings, and never less than three Shillings and four Pence, in every twenty Shillings^a.

I do not find that the discovery of this fraud, for which the Abbot and Convent were severely fined, occasioned the issuing of weights, legally stamped, from the Mint, in that reign or in many of the succeeding ones. But at later periods frequent Proclamations occur, requiring all persons to provide themselves with such weights (the price of which is sometimes fixed by the Proclamation), and to weigh with them all the Gold Coins that should be tendered to them.

The first instance of the kind, which I have discovered, is of the 30th year of Elizabeth. Such

^r Pat. 6 Johan^r. m. 7. dors. See Annals of the Coinage.

^s Chron. W. Thorn. Col. 2068. See Annals of the Coinage.

Proclamations are likewise found of the 17th James I. and the 8th and 10th of Charles I.[†] And in the 30th of Elizabeth the Mint provided not only the weights but balances and cases also.

The last instance is in the year 1774, when the state of the Gold Coins was such as to make it necessary to consider them as little better than Bullion, with respect to weight, and to order that none should be current which were deficient beyond a certain allowance. By the Statute which enacted this, the Officers of the Mint were authorized to make weights for the Guinea and the Shilling^u, and the parts thereof, and no other weights were allowed to be used. These weights were to be stamped by an Officer appointed for that special purpose^w; who in the following year was allowed to take a certain fee for the same^x.

OF THE QUANTITY OF BULLION COINED.

Some Account of the Quantity of Bullion which was brought into the Mint, for the purpose of Coinage, has already been given. I shall now state, as fully as my imperfect Collections will enable me, the Amount of the Bullion actually coined at different periods, prior to the Act for the encouraging of Coinage, in the 18th year of Charles II. After that time the Account will be found more regular and unbroken.

[†] See these at large in the Annals of the Coinage.

^u This is the only instance since the 6th of John of weights being issued for the Silver Coins.

^w Stat. 14 G. III. Ch. 92. See Annals of the Coinage.

^x Stat. 15 G. III. ch. 30. See Annals of the Coinage.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD. £. s. d.	SILVER. £. s. d.	AUTHORITIES.
Henry III.	6 - Canterbury.		3998 0 4	Mint Account in the Exchequer.
Edward I.				
9 - London.			{ 27770 0 0	{ in Pennies. } Mint Account.
			{ 1260 0 0	{ in Halfpennies. }
19 - Canterbury.			{ 1680 0 0	{ in Farthings. } Id.
20 -			{ 272 13 4	{ Id.
21 -			{ 752 11 9	{ Id.
			{ 167 17 6	
Sept. 30 to Nov. 6 24 -			{ 380 0 0	{ in Pennies. }
December 13 - 25	London.		{ 40 0 0	{ in Farthings. }
to			{ 5410 0 0	{ Pennies. }
25 September - 26			{ 110 0 0	{ Halfpennies. }
			{ 760 0 0	{ Farthings. }
Edward II.				
October 20 - 5			{ 3210 0 0	{ Pennies. }
to Michaelmas - 6	London.		{ 390 0 0	{ Farthings. }
Michaelmas - 6			{ 7032 11 3	{ Pennies. }
to Michaelmas - 7			{ 20 0 0	{ Halfpennies. }
Michaelmas - 7			{ 290 0 0	{ Farthings. }
to Michaelmas - 8			{ 30245 8 24	{ Pennies. }
			{ 450 0 0	{ Farthings. }
From Sept. 30 - 8			{ 8985 14 24	{ Pennies. }
			{ 140 0 0	{ Farthings. }

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
Edward II. (<i>continued</i> .)		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
16 -	London.		792 14 3	Pennies.
			10 0 0	Halfpennies.
			220 0 0	Farthings.
				Mint Account.
Edward III.				
Feb. 3 to Michaelmas next	London.		124 2 1	Pennies.
1 and 2			125 9 4	Farthings.
			148 0 11	Pennies.
2 and 3			150 0 11	Farthings.
			83 6 6	Pennies.
			85 6 5	Farthings.
	Canterbury.		48 4 1	Id.
3 -	London.		397 0 0	Pennies.
			16 11 0	Halfpennies.
			232 17 0	Farthings.
	Canterbury.		92 4 6	Id.
3 and 4	London.		476 19 8	Id.
18 -		2129 18 8½	20919 19 0	Id.
Michaelmas - - 22			1436 17 7½	Pennies.
to		1795 13 2½	2875 19 5½	Halfpennies.
May 17 - - 23			148 18 3	Farthings.
27 -		3181 13 8	53861 13 7½	Id.
28 -	York.		1892 5 9	Id.
37 -	Calais.	2869 19 2	1613 5 1	Id.

38 - 40 -	Calais. London.	624 11 0 741 0 11½	982 7 6	Mint Account. Id.
Richard II.				
Michaelmas - - 12 }	London.	1824 7 5½	283 10 5½	Id.
to Michaelmas - 13 }				
Michaelmas - - 13 }		1626 15 3	1794 15 0	Id.
to Michaelmas - 14 }				
Michaelmas - - 19 }		536 13 3	149 7 9	Id.
to Michaelmas. - 20 }				
Henry IV.				
3 -	London.	298 12 10	129 2 11½	Id.
4 -		97 13 3	185 5 7½	Id.
Henry V.				
10 -				
to 3 Henry VI. -	London.	19746 11 0½	6924 0 10	Id.
Henry VI.				
February 25 - - 2 }	Calais.		lb. oz. dwt. 67745 4 10	{ Bundle in the Tower, un- classified. Ditto.
to January 31 - 6 }				
January 24 - - 2 }		lb. oz. dwt. 2834dj. 9 7		
to December 24 6 }				
July 29 - - - 3 }	London.	5963 7 11½	4919 9 10	Pat. pt. l. m. ll.
to July 27 - - 9 }				

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.		SILVER.		AUTHORITIES.
		lb.	oz. dwt.	lb.	oz. dwt.	
Henry VI. (<i>continued</i>)						
February 20 - - 6	Calais.			99660	9 0	{ Bundle in the Tower, un- classified.
to August 3 - - 9						
May 20 - - 6						{ Ditto.
to August 2 - - 9						
October 12 - - 10	London.					{ Ditto.
to October 13 - - 11				1466	9 10 10 (sic.)	
October 16 - - 10						{ Ditto.
to October 22 11}		lb. oz. s. d.				
		663	4 15 7.			
	Calais.					
11				26182	10 dj.	
18 and 19	London.	lb. oz.		2751	3 10	Mint Accounts.
Michaelmas - - 23		505 3½				
to Michaelmas - 24		lb. oz. dwt.		207	3 0	Id.
25		162 0 3		88	7 5	Id.
24 June - - 26		87 11 17½		651	2 15	Id.
to 11 October - 28		207 11 2½				
Michaelmas - - 29	London.	416 4 11½		9980	5 17	Id.
to Fest. Pasch. - 30						
1 April - - 31						
to 21 April - - 32		123 10 7½		3605	5 5	Id.

21 April - - 32 } to 28 March - 34 } Michaelmas - - 37 } to Michaelmas - 38 }	London.	149 6 10 49 5 5	5469 10 0 3103 2 0	Mint Accounts. Id.
Edward IV.				
9 -	London. York. Bristol.	2289 6 0 88 0 0 142 3 0	8065 6 0 1312 6 0 1041 3 0	} Id. }
10 -	York.	53 6 10	242 8 0	
31 May - - 11 } to 28 September 15 }	London.	7565 7 0	36278 15 0	Id.
May 31 - - 11 } to July 23 - - 12 }	Bristol.	117 3 0	903 3 0	Id.
Henry VII.				
1 -	London.	472 2 0	4103 0 0	Id.
3 -		403 7 10	2651 9 10	Id.
4 -		238 3 0	2724 0 0	Id.
10 -		1056 2 0	4920 10 0	Id.
11 -		586 4 0	2309 4 15	Id.
12 -		764 11 0	4510 2 15	Id.
13 -		868 2 0	7706 2 0	Id.
Michaelmas - - 14 } to Michaelmas - 16 }		1787 1 0	23953 4 0	Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 67.
Michaelmas - - 16 } to Michaelmas - 18 }		2224 5 0	20871 5 5	Id. p. 69.

REGION.	MINT.	GOLD.		SILVER.		AUTHORITIES.
Henry VIII.		lb.	oz. dwt.	lb.	oz. dwt.	
3 and 4 -	London.	1196	8 15 3½ Plates 7	5537	10 5	Mint Accounts.
Michaelmas - - 7 }		2279	0 15	96	4 5	Id.
to Michaelmas - 8 }						
19 -		lb.	oz. gr.	lb.	oz. dwt.	Mint Account in the Chapter House, Westminster.
20 -		4957	1 3½	26678	5 d.	
21 -		1231	0 0	40480	5 0	
22 -		533	2 0	29337	2 0	
23 -		394	5 0½	20392	3 0	
		390	3 0	15765	2 0	
July 1 - - - 34 }						Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 43.
to March 31 - - 35 }		lb.	oz. dwt.	lb.	oz. dwt.	
Michaelmas - - 35 }		141	6 0	22053	0 0	
to March 31 - 36 }		213	3 0z	2408	0 0	
Philip and Mary.						
1 and 2 -				{	6510 0 0	Folkes, p. 48, note.
					Base for Ireland	

Y I cannot discover the precise value of the Plates which appear in this Account; but three Plates and an half are evidently less than one quarter of an ounce.

Z Of this total 31lb. 6 oz. were of fine Gold, and 181lb. 9oz. of 22 Carats fine.

Elizabeth.	London.	Fine Gold.			£.	s.	d.		
		£.	s.	d.					
James I.		440552	8	9½	4718579	2	9½		Folkes, pp. 65, 66.
		Crown Gold.			Base for Ireland.				
		354585	19	7	118222	9	4½		Simon's Irish Coins, p. 43.
Charles I.		Angel Gold.			1641004	13	3		} Folkes, p. 71.
		32093	17	9					
		Crown Gold.			Irish Sterling.				} Simon, p. 45.
		3634296	1	2	166273	11	0		
Commonwealth		Crown Gold.			8776544	10	3		} Snelling, Gold, p. 37; Silver, p. 55.
		3307019	0	0					
		Fine.							
		12658	5	0					
Charles II.		154511	14	9½	1000000	0	0		Snelling as above.
		Crown Gold.			3722180	2	8 1q.		Folkes, p. 111.
		4177253	19	5					
James II.		2113638	18	8½	518316	9	5 1q.		Folkes, p. 114.
					Base Money				} Simon, p. 63.
					for Ireland.				
					1596799	0	0		

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
William III. and Mary	London.	£. s. d. Crown Gold. 443338 15 6	£. s. d. 79026 9 4½	} Folkes, p. 129.
William - - - -	- - - -	-2975550 16 1½	7014047 16 11½	
Anne - - - -	- - - -	2484531 8 4	207094 18 4½ For Scotland. 411117 10 9	Folkes, p. 131. Id. p. 154.
George I. - - - -	- - - -	8492876 3 6	233045 13 0	Folkes, p. 132.
George II. - - - -	- - - -	11692216 0 0	304360 0 0	{ Chalmers's Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain, p. 234.

QUANTITY COINED.

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REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
		£.	£. s. d.	
George III. -1760	London.	111299 0 0		
1761		550888 0 0	31 0 0	
1762		553691 0 0	3162 0 0	
1763		513041 0 0	2629 0 0	
1764		883102 0 0	15 0 0	
1765		538272 0 0	19 0 0	
1766		820725 0 0	298 0 0	
1767		1271808 0 0		
1768		844554 0 0		
1769		626582 0 0		
1770		623779 0 0	68 0 0	
1771		637796 0 0		
1772		843853 0 0	335 0 0	
1773		1317645 0 0		
1774		4685624 0 0		
1775		4901219 0 0		
1776		5006350 0 0	315 0 0	
1777		3680995 0 0		
1778		350438 0 0		
1779		1696117 0 0	254 0 0	
1780				
1781		876795 0 0	62 0 0	
1782		698074 0 0		
1783		227084 0 0		
1784		822126 0 0	203 0 0	
1785		2488106 0 0		
1786		1107382 0 0		
1787		2849057 0 0	55459 0 0	
1788		3664174 0 0		
1789		1530711 0 0		
1790		2660522 0 0		
1791		2456567 0 0		
1792		1171863 0 0	274 0 0	
1793		2747430 0 0		
1794		2568895 0 0		
1795		493416 0 0	295 0 0	
1796		464680 0 0		
1797		2000297 0 0		
1798*		2967505 0 0	From 18th March 1797	
1799		449962 0 0	to 31st Dec.	
1800		189937 0 0	1803,	
1801		450240 0 0	Maundy †	
1802		437019 0 0	Monies,	
1803		596445 0 0	£.278.	
1804		718397 0 0		
1805		54616 0 0		
1806		405106 0 0		
1807			From 1st Jan. 1804	
1808		371744 0 0	to 31st	
1809		298946 0 0	Dec. 1814,	
1810		316935 13 6	Maundy	
1811		312263 2 6	Monies	
1812			£.773. 2s.	
1813		519722 3 6		
1814				

All the Entries in this Reign down to the year 1809 inclusive are copied from Mr. Chalmers's accurate Table at the end of his "Considerations on Commerce," &c.; the remainder from Accounts laid before Parliaments and other authentick Documents.

* In this year the Silver Coinage was suspended.

† The small Coins which are distributed on Maundy Thursday.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
		£.	£. s. d.	
George III. 1815				} From 1 Jan. 1815 to 31 Dec. 1817 Maundy Monies £. 191. 8s.
1816			1806181 0 6	
1817		4269270 0 0	3437095 18 0	
1818 to June 30		2862373 10 0	404890 2 6	
Total		7449439 10 6	4712998 18 0	
Total of Gold and Silver £. 19307297 1 6				

OF THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THE COINAGE.

The Profits of the Mint once formed no inconsiderable part of the Revenues of the Crown; and they arose from various sources: from the SEIGNORAGE, the MONEYAGE, the SHERE, and the difference between the Tower Pound and the Troy Weight^a.

The SEIGNORAGE was a certain deduction from all the Bullion which was coined; and it may be divided into two parts; viz. that which was taken to defray the expenses of Coinage, and that which was claimed by the Sovereign by virtue of his prerogative.

The former of these is, probably, almost as antient as the invention of Coined Money, for it would soon be discovered that the Sovereign, after he had turned his Bullion into Coins, for the convenience of his Subjects, was no richer than before; and consequently the mere charge of Coinage would, at an early period, be laid upon them.

It is not, however, probable that the deduction remained fixed at so moderate a point for any length

^a These were all avowed profits: but sometimes small deviations from the Indentures were authorised by the Sovereign, which covertly increased the Revenue arising from the Mint. See instances in the reign of Elizabeth, in her 21st and 23d years, in the Annals of Coinage.

of time, but that, shortly after its first establishment, it was considered as a productive source of Revenue. The precise time when the increased deduction took place in our Mints is not known. In the earliest Mint Account which I have met with, namely, one of the 6th year of Henry III., the Profit upon the Coinage of Silver was six Pence in the Pound.

This appears from the entries, under that year, of Bullion coined in the Mint at Canterbury, when the Profit upon £.3898. 0s. 4d. is stated to be £.97. 9s. 0d., which is exactly six Pence in the Pound. Of that sum the King had £.60. 18s. 3½d. and the Archbishop £36. 10s. 10½d.^b The whole sum of £.97. 9s. 0d. is stated to be the amount of *Exitus lucri*; that is, I presume, the clear Profit after all the expenses were deducted. And this will nearly agree with the Seignorage which was taken in the 28th year of Edward I., amounting to one Shilling and two Pence Halfpenny upon every Pound. Out of which the Master had five Pence Halfpenny for all expenses, and there remained nine Pence clear Profit to the King.

As this latter date is about 78 years subsequent to the former, it is not improbable that the Seignorage had been raised, in that time, in the proportion of nine to six.

It must be confessed, however, that no very certain conclusions can be drawn from the amount of this deduction at any one time, as its rate seems to have been ever unsettled, and to have depended upon the caprice, the avarice, or the necessities of the

^b Mint Account in the Exchequer. These totals do not precisely agree, as is frequently the case in sums stated in Roman numerals.

Sovereign. This will be evident from the following Tables, which are drawn out from a Volume of Extracts from the Indentures (once in the Lansdown Library, but now forming a part of the MS treasures in the British Museum), from Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, from Snelling's Tables, and from other authentic documents.

SEIGNORAGE for the COINAGE of GOLD; and the
ALLOWANCE out of it to the MASTER.

REIGN.	Pound weight coined into			Seignorage.			To the Master for coining.			To the Merchant.			AUTHORITIES.
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Edward III. 18	15	0	0	1	3	6	0	3	6	13	16	6	Indenture ^c .
	13	3	4	0	8	4	0	3	4	12	15	0	Indenture ^d .
19	13	3	4	0	7	0	0	2	0	12	16	4	Snelling.
20 } 23 }	14	0	0	0	11	8	0	1	8	13	8	4	Snelling.
27	15	0	0	0	9	3	0	2	0	14	10	9	Indenture.
30	15	0	0	0	6	8	0	1	2	14	13	4	Indenture.
Richard II. 18	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	14	15	0	Indenture.
Henry IV. - 3	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	14	15	0	Snelling.
13	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
Henry V. - 9	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
Henry VI. ^a 4 } 6 }	16	13	4	0	5	10	0	2	4	16	7	6	Indentures.
24	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
49	22	10	0	0	13	0	0	2	6	21	17	0	Indenture.
Edward IV. 4	20	16	8	2	10	0	0	2	4	18	6	8	Indenture.
5	22	12	4	1	3	2	0	2	4	21	9	2	Indenture in the Chapter House, Westminster ^f .
8	22	10	0	0	14	6	0	2	6	21	15	6	Indenture, Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 166.
9	The Master to receive by weight, and deliver by weight, taking for Coinage of every Pound Tower of Gold £1. 0s. 10d.												Pat. 9 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 10.
22	22	10	0	0	7	6	0	2	6	22	2	6	Indenture.
Henry VII. 3	22	10	0	0	7	6	0	2	6	22	2	6	Indenture.
4 } 16 }	22	10	0	0	2	6	0	1	10	22	7	6	Mint Accounts in the Exchequer
19	22	10	0	0	7	6	0	2	6	22	2	6	Indenture.

^c For the Coinage of the Florins.

^d For the Coinage of the Nobles.

^e The Lansdown MS. adds, in this year, 10d. to the Master for his waste in workmanship, which makes the total differ from that given by Snelling.

^f If the Merchant chose to receive his Money immediately at the King's Exchange, then the King was to have of every lb. weight Tower 22s. 11d. by

REIGN.	Pound weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for coining.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Henry VIII. 1					
3	22 10 0	0 2 6	0 1 10	22 7 6	Indenture. Mint Accounts.
7					
18	27 0 0	0 2 9	0 2 1	26 17 3	
22	25 2 6	0 3 0	0 2 4	24 19 6	Snelling.
34	28 16 0	1 4 0	0 3 4	27 12 0	Indenture.
36	30 0 0	2 10 0		27 10 0	Indenture.
37	30 0 0	5 2 0		24 18 0	Snelling.
Edward VI. 1	30 0 0	1 10 0		28 10 0	Indenture.
3	34 0 0	1 0 0		33 0 0	Indenture.
4	28 16 0	0 2 9		28 13 3	Indenture.
6	36 0 0	0 2 9		35 17 3	Indenture.
	33 0 0	0 3 0		32 17 0	Indenture.
Elizabeth - 1	36 0 0	0 5 0		33 15 0	Indenture.
	33 0 0	0 4 0		32 16 0	Indenture.
19	36 0 0	0 4 0	0 1 6	33 16 0	Indenture.
25					
26	36 0 0	0 6 0	0 4 9	35 14 0	Indentures.
27	33 0 0	0 7 0	0 5 9	32 13 0	Snelling.
35	The same.				Indenture.
43	36 10 0	0 10 0	0 4 9	36 0 0	
	33 10 0	0 10 0	0 5 9	33 0 0	Indenture.
James I. - 2	40 10 0	1 10 0	0 6 5	39 0 0	Snelling.
	37 4 0	1 10 0	0 6 5	35 14 0	Indenture.
3	40 10 0	1 10 0	0 6 0	39 0 0	Indenture.
	44 10 0	2 5 0	0 6 0	42 5 0	
10	40 18 4	2 5 0	0 6 5	38 13 4	
	44 10 0	1 11 6	0 6 0	42 18 6	Snelling.
	40 18 4	1 6 4	0 6 5	39 12 0	
17	44 10 0	1 1 0	0 6 0	43 9 0	Snelling.
Charles I. - 2	The same.				
	41 0 0	1 1 5	0 6 5	39 18 7	Snelling.
Commonwealth, 1650		0 15 0	0 2 5		Answer of the Moneyers to Blondeau, p. 92.
Charles II. 13					
17	44 10 0			44 10 0	Snelling.
George I. - 4	The current value of the Guinea was fixed at 21s. at which it still remains; the Pound of Gold therefore is now coined into 46l. 14s. 6d.				

number. [Indenture as above.] The Indenture of his eighth year states the Seignorage from the time of the new Coins, that is, from his fifth year, to have been *xxs. xd.* *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 165.

^s Fine Gold. In a Mint Account preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, the Seignorage, from the 18th to 23d year, both inclusive, is stated at *2s. 6d.*

^b Crown Gold.

ⁱ Fine Gold.

^k Crown Gold. All the double entries which follow are likewise for Fine and Crown Gold.

^l In this year notice was given by Proclamation that the King had ordered the profit of his Coinage to be reduced, for one year, from *1l. 6s. 4d.* for every Pound weight of Gold, together with some profit from shearing at the Mint, to fifteen Shillings only, including the gain by shearing. [Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.]

SEIGNORAGE for the COINAGE of SILVER.

REIGN.	Pound weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for coining.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Edward I. = 8		0 1 0	0 0 7		{ Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, fol. 247. Snelling.
28	1 0 3	0 1 2½	0 0 5½	0 19 0½	
Edward III. 1		0 1 4			{ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.
Billon Silver		0 9 11½			
18		0 1 3	0 0 9		{ Indentures.
19½	1 2 2	0 1 2	0 0 8	1 1 0	
20	1 2 6	0 1 2	0 0 6½		{ Indentures.
23		by weight.	by number.		
27	1 2 6	0 1 3½	0 0 6½	the rest.	{ Snelling.
28	1 5 0	0 0 18	0 0 6	the rest.	
30	1 5 0	0 0 9½	0 0 6½	1 4 0½	{ Indentures.
				in number for every	
				0 19 2½	
				Towerweight	
Richard II. 18	1 5 0	0 0 8	0 0 7	1 4 2	{ Indentures.
		in weight.	in number.	in number for every	
				0 19 4	
				Towerweight	
Henry IV. 4	1 5 0	0 0 10	0 0 7	1 4 2	{ Snelling.
Henry V. 9	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	
10	The same.				{ Indenture.
Henry VI. 6	1 10 0	0 2 0	0 0 10	1 8 0	
23					{ Mint Account.
to Michaelmas . . . 24	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	
24	1 10 0	0 2 0	0 0 10	1 8 0	{ Snelling.
32	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	
33					{ Mint Accounts.
49	1 17 6	0 2 0	0 1 2	1 15 6	

m. Of the Farthings, which were to be made by virtue of the Indenture, every Pound was to contain twenty-four, and three Shillings for the assay, beyond the number appointed for Sterlings, on account of the extra trouble and charge of Coinage; on which consideration also the Master was to be allowed ten Pence Halfpenny for all expenses upon every Pound. The King to have twelve Pennies at the least. Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247.

* The Indenture does not give the number of Pennies into which the Pound was then coined. By this Indenture the Florins were coined.

o. The Indenture for the Nobles. Snelling has affixed to this entry the date of 19 E. III.

p. Snelling makes this Seignorage 11½d.; of which he gives to the Master 6½d..

q. Here Snelling makes the Seignorage 10d. and the Master's allowance 7d.

r. In his 9th year the Seignorage and Coinage were to be 1s. 3d. in the Pound. [Stat. 9 H. V. Stat. 2.]

REIGN.	Pound weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for Coinage.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Edward IV. 4	1 17 6	0 4 6	0 1 2	1 13 0	Indenture.
5	The same.				Indenture.
7	1 17 6	0 3 2	0 1 2	1 14 2	Snelling.
8	1 17 6	0 2 8	0 1 2	1 14 10	Indenture.
11		0 1 6	0 1 0		Mint Accounts.
15					
22	1 17 6	0 1 6	0 1 0	1 16 0	Indenture.
Henry VII. 3		0 1 6			Mint Accounts.
4					
from 31 March to Michaelmas		0 1 0	0 0 10		Mint Accounts.
from Michaelmas to Feb. 28		0 1 6			
10					
11		0 1 0			Mint Accounts.
12					
13					
19	1 17 6	0 1 0	0 0 10	1 16 6	Indenture.
Henry VIII. 1		0 1 0	0 0 10		Indenture.
3					Mint Accounts.
18	2 5 0	0 1 0	0 0 10	2 4 0	Snelling.
34	2 8 0	0 8 0	0 2 4	2 0 0	Indenture.
36	4 16 0	2 0 0		2 16 0	Indenture.
37		1 19 0			Indenture.
Edward VI. 1	7 4 0	4 4 0		3 0 0	Indenture.
3	7 4 0	4 0 0		3 4 0	Indenture.
5	14 8 0	8 8 0		6 0 0	Indenture.
6	3 0 0	0 1 0		2 19 0	Indenture.
Philip and Mary	The same.				Indenture.
Elizabeth 1	3 0 0	0 1 6		2 18 6	Indenture.
19	3 0 0	0 1 6	0 0 2	2 18 6	Indenture.
23	3 0 0	0 1 10	0 1 2	2 18 2	Indenture.
43	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 4	3 0 0	Indenture.
James I. 2	3 2 0	0 2 6	0 1 4	2 19 6	Indenture.
Charles I. 2	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 2	3 0 0	Snelling.
Charles II. 12	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 2	3 0 0	Snelling.
George III. 56	3 6 0	0 4 0	0 1 0	3 2 0	Stat. 56 G. III. c. 68.

* Snelling's Table makes the Seignorage 3s. 9d. and gives to the Master 0s. 2d.

* In a Mint Account of the 18th to the 23d year inclusive, which is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, the Seignorage is stated in eleven pence.

* The pound, according to Snelling, was coined into 240 Mils. to be graded into

* Snelling places this in the 4th year of Ed. VII. and gives the following account

* Snelling dates the diminution of the Master's allowance in the 14th year of Elizabeth. [Note to his Table of Seignorage.]

* The Indenture between Philip and Mary is dated 1554.

* The Indenture between Elizabeth and Philip is dated 1559.

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As this source of Revenue depended entirely on the will of the Sovereigns, it is no wonder that it should be regulated not so much by their justice as by their caprice or necessities; and that the Money should be renewed, that is, called in and re-coined, whenever an increase of Revenue was wanted.

The grievances arising from these frequent renewals of the Money were so great as to extort from their Subjects a regular Tax, to be paid every three years, on condition that the practice should be abolished.

This Tax, which was called MONEYAGE, appears to have been brought into this Kingdom from Normandy (where it prevailed more than in other parts of France)^z, probably by William I.; for it was unknown here in the reign of Edward the Confessor, as is expressly declared in the Law of Henry I., by which the imposition was entirely abolished. The payment of it is enumerated amongst those evil customs by which the Realm of England had been oppressed^y.

But though the triennial Tax no longer existed, the Seignorage still remained, and, as may be seen in the foregoing Tables, was at times applied to

^z See Ducange, *Monetarium*, Col. 1009.

^y *Leges Ang. Sax.* p. 234. The Flemings alleged against Maximilian King of the Romans (amongst other charges) "that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authority, which without their assent would have chaunged and inhaunced their Coyne to their great prejudice and detriment." [Grafton's Chronicle, 5 Henry VII.] The word *chaunged*, above, is equivalent to the term *vertebatur*, or *renovatur*, in Domesday. Quando Moneta vertebatur—Cum Moneta renovatur. A certain sum was then paid by the Moneyers.

extort Money from the People, and thus to increase the Revenue of the Crown.

It was gathered in this manner: after the Bullion was coined, and assayed, then the Seignorage was deducted, and what remained was returned to him who brought the Bullion to the Mint.

This was continued until the reign of Charles II., when the King took upon himself to bear one half of the expense of Coinage of the Silver Money, out of his Revenue^z; and in his 18th year an Act was passed, by which it was ordained, for the Encouragement of Coinage, that whoever should bring Sterling Silver, or Crown or Standard Gold, to the Mint, should receive an equal weight of the current Coins^a.

It was, doubtless, expected, that this measure would produce a never-failing supply of Bullion for the Mint; but experience has shewn, what the

^z This is stated in the Preamble to the Statute 18 C. II. chap. 5; but the time at which his Majesty began to do this is not specified.

^a Stat. 18 C. II. chap. 5.

The profits of the Seignorage were so much considered by our Monarchs as a certain branch of their Revenue, that they were occasionally granted, in whole or in part, either to Corporate Bodies for their advantage, or for defraying certain charges expressed in the Grant itself. They were sometimes granted to individuals by way of Pension. And when the right of Seignorage was extinguished in this Kingdom, by the Act above mentioned, there was a Pension existing, payable out of the profits derived from it, which had been granted in 1660, under the Great Seal, for 21 years, to Dame Barbara Villiers, of two Pence by Tale out of every Pound weight of Silver Coins made at the English Mint: which the Legislature, from a principle of justice, ordered to be continued out of the Coinage Duties imposed by that Act. [See Section 12.] Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 104.

framers of the Act seem not to have been aware of, that when the Coinage is left to the care of individuals, they will consult their interest alone, and will bring to the Mint that Metal only which will afford the greatest profit upon being turned into Money; or will altogether withhold Bullion of every kind, when it is more advantageous to sell the Metal unworked.

The remaining sources of Revenue from the Mint, though far less abundant than those which have been enumerated above, were not, however, at times, thought unworthy of the notice of our Monarchs.

The Profit of the SHERE, or (as it might with equal propriety have been called) of the REMEDY, arose from the advantage which was taken of that allowance for the imperfection of the Workmen's skill^b.

"It does not appear that our Princes made any considerable advantage of this until Queen Elizabeth, in her 14th year, allowed Lonison the Master only eight Pence, instead of 14 Pence, or 14 Pence Farthing, in every Pound, to bear all expenses; which obliged him to avail himself of the Remedy, amounting to six Pence Farthing in the Pound, as appears by the Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine into this affair^c. After which

^b Some idea of the extent of this Profit may be formed from the confession of Sir William Sharrington, in the reign of Edward VI. He says, "that in three years he profited by the Shear [in the Mint at Bristol, where he was Vice-Treasurer] more than £4000; answering to the King for the Say and Sheare 12d. and taking the profit of the rest to himself." [Haynes's Burleigh's State Papers, p. 67.]

^c Stow's Survey by Strype, vol. II. p. 100.

the Queen empowered him, by Commission dated Dec. 31 in her 21st year, to coin Silver at 51 oz. 1 dwt. in fineness, and sixty Shillings and three Pence in the Pound weight, which were delivered by Tale (as had been suggested to her Majesty by the said Commissioners); taking thus half the Remedy, which amounted to about six Pence Farthing's before. Other Commissions to the said purpose were granted in her 23d and 24th years; but in her 25th year the Subject was charged 22 Pence, which is four Pence more, and the Queen had but eight Pence, which is two Pence less than before, which together made up the six Pence that had been squeezed out of these Remedies. Towards the latter end of her reign, and in the first seventeen years of James I., the Money was again paid out by Tale, and therefore the Profit of the Shere came to the Sovereign, which was before the Merchant's.^f

This Profit, upon the Gold Coins, was recognized by James I. in a Proclamation of his 17th year, when he reduced the Seignorage ⁵.

According to Violet's representation, in the year

^d Folkes, p. 55.

It seems, however, that Lonison took a still further advantage, and shered the Silver at sixty Shillings five Pence, or six Pence, and the Gold at £36. 8s. 0d. and often at £36. 3s. 6d. whilst he paid to the Queen's subjects only sixty Shillings, or £36. 0s. 0d. by Tale; by which means the subject paid eleven Shillings, instead of four Shillings, for Gold, and two Shillings and six Pence instead of one Shilling and six Pence for Silver. [Petition from the Warden and other Officers of the Mint to the Lords of the Privy Council, Commissioners appointed for hearing of Mint Causes, 1575. Harl. MSS. No. 680, p. 97.]

^e Folkes, p. 137.

^f Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53, note.

^g Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

1653, the Profit of the Shere amounted usually to eight Shillings, and sometimes to ten Shillings in £.100 by Tale ^h.

At the great Re-coinage of Silver in the reign of William III. the Money was shorn at something more than £.3. 2s. 3d. *per* Pound ⁱ, and made current at £.3. 2s. 0d.; thus allowing three Pence *per* Pound weight for the Profit of the Shere, or rather more than eight Shillings in every hundred Pounds of Money.

In the present mode of conducting the Coinage, very nearly the whole advantage of the Shere is given to him who brings Bullion to the Mint; for the Coins are, by the increased skill and attention of the Moneyers, formed greatly within the Remedies allowed. Thus it will appear, from a reference to the Account of the Trial of the Pix, in 1799, that when the Remedy allowed has been 1 lb. 3 oz. 18 dwt. 0 gr., the actual deficiency has amounted to no more than 1 dwt. 15 gr. If the whole advantage of the Shere had been taken, it would have produced from the Coinage of about five years, which was then tried, nearly fourscore thousand Pounds.

That Profit of the Shere, which arose from the Seignorage being taken by weight, and not by number, is also commonly stated in the Mint Accounts. It is sometimes called simply *Incrementum*; but is more frequently described as being derived from Coins which had been received by weight, and exchanged by number. In this, as in the other in-

^h Narrative of some remarkable Proceedings concerning the Ships Samson, &c. p. 91.

ⁱ Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

stances, it is reckoned at the rate of three Pence in the Pound, excepting in the case of the smaller Coins, where its rate was increased, and for the Farthings was raised to six Pence in the Pound^j.

The last remaining source of Revenue from the Mint is thus stated in a MS. relating to Mint Affairs which is preserved in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries: — "There is a weight which hath been used in England from the beginning, in the King's Mints, till of late years, and derived from the Troy weights; for by the Troy weight of twelve Ounces the Merchant bought his Gold and Silver abroad, and by the same delivered it into the King's Mint, receiving in counterpoize by Tower weight, which was the Prince's prerogative, who gained thereby $\frac{1}{4}$ of an Ounce in the exchange of each Pound weight converted into Money, beside the gain of coining, which did rise to a great Reve-

j The entries are in this form: "Et de xiijs. iij*d*. q*a*. de increm'to denarior' p'dci exit' rec' p' pond' & liber p' num'u' videli't de qualibet lib. iij*d*. et de xxs. de increm'to ferlingor' rec' de mag'ro monete p' pond & cambit' p' num' p' idem temp' libra excrescente p' vid." [Mint Account in the Exchequer, 24 E. I.]

In the reign of Richard II. this Incrementum seems to have arisen to five Shillings in the Pound, as appears from the following entry: "Et de xlvjs. iij*d*. de incr'o p'u'en' de p'dcis ixli. ix*s*. q*a*. de exit' d'ci arg'monetat' unde r'. sup*a* videli't de qual't libra vs. at'ling num'ro." [Mint Account, 12 and 13 R. II.]

But in a later instance the rate of Incrementum was little more than four Pence Halfpenny in the Pound: "Et de xlijs. v*j*d. de incr'o p'u'en' de p'dcis cxijs. x*j*d. q*a*. de exit' d'ci Argent' monetag." [Mint Account, 19 and 20 R. II.]

The cause of difference between the two entries I am unable to explain; but I have given them for my Readers to form their judgment upon them.

nue; making for every 30 lb. Troy, being a Journey of Coined Money, 32 lb. Tower." &c.

This was continued until the use of the Tower Pound, in the Mint, was forbidden by Proclamation in the 18th year of Henry VIII.¹

If the amount of these several Profits could be ascertained, they would probably be found to have constituted no unimportant part of the Revenue of our early Monarchs; but this cannot now be done, as we do not possess an unbroken Series of Mint Accounts for any one Reign. It is impossible also, for the same reason, to state, with any precision, the aggregate sum to which the expenses of workmanship arose.

But though we are unable to make out a regular account of Profit and Loss, for periods so distant, that such account must be chiefly matter of curiosity; we are fortunately not so much in the dark respecting the times which have just passed over us, but are furnished with documents concerning them, from which conclusions of the highest importance may be drawn.

We know that the Coinage Act, which was originally passed in the 18th year of Charles II., and was made perpetual by the 25th Chapter of a Statute in the 6th year of his present Majesty, has deprived the State of all possibility of Profit from the Mint; whilst, on the other hand, we possess, from undoubted authority, accounts of the expenses of working the same, commencing with the beginning

¹ MS. in the Antiquaries' Library relating to Mint Affairs. The first page is signed by Sir Robert Cotton. See also Malynes, *Lex Mercatoria*, Part II. chap. 8.

¹ See *Annals of the Coinage*.

of the year 1777, and continued to the close of the year 1803, under the following heads :

	£.	s.	d.
Charge of Coining - - -	273439	15	6
Amount of Salaries - - -	110233	14	4
Contingencies and Incidents -	59585	3	7
Buildings and Repairs - -	45183	5	4
Total	488441	18	9 ^m

This sum gives an average of more than £.18000 for each year, which exceeds the allowance for the expenses of Coinage (as it was settled by Statute of George I. Stat. 2, Chap. 43, and by Statute of George III. Chap. 13, § 64) by at least £.3000 *per annum*.

OF THE DEPRECIATION OF THE VALUE OF MONEY.

Every article which passes in exchange between man and man is liable to alterations in its value; chiefly from these two circumstances combined—the quantity to be disposed of, and the demand for it. Even Money itself, which is usually denominated the measure of the value of all other things, is itself subject to variations, not only from the above-mentioned circumstances, in common with all other articles, but also from some which are peculiar to itself, and which derive their origin from the incorrect principles upon which Money is constructed. In consequence of these principles it is

^m Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 156, note.

considered in a two-fold light — as a medium of exchange between the Subjects of that Prince from whose Mint it issues, and as an article of commerce with the rest of the world; the latter of these in defiance of the Laws of almost every Nation, which absolutely forbid the exportation of Coins.

In the first state its value is regulated by the quantity, and the demand; but in the second it depends, likewise, upon the price which the metal it is formed of bears in the Market.

From the variations in the price of Bullion has arisen the necessity of reducing, from time to time, the actual weight and value of the Coins; but their further depreciation, as to their effect in exchange for other commodities, has been influenced in a great measure by the increased quantity in circulation, which has reduced their value, in like manner as the same circumstance will reduce the value of any other article of exchange. That this is really the case, is amply to be proved from the progressive reduction of the interest of Money. From the 5th Chapter of the Statute 3 Henry VII. it should seem, that, by an evasive process, twenty *per cent.* were sometimes paid. But it was not until the 37th year of Henry VIII. that the legal rate of interest was determined by Statute, when it was ordained that not more than ten *per cent.* should be takenⁿ; and after several reductions, at various times, it was brought down to five *per cent.* in the 12th year of Queen Anne^o: at which its legal rate has remained stationary until this present time.

Its actual rate, however, has been perpetually, and

ⁿ Statute 37 H. VIII. chap. 9.

^o Statute 12 Anne, Stat. 2. chap. 16.

necessarily, varying, through every period, since it first received a legal sanction.

During a War, when the necessities of Government create a powerful competition in the Money Market, it cannot be procured at the interest which the Law has prescribed; and even Government itself is obliged to exceed the established rate, either by an actual increase, or by a profit which the Lender expects to make from the transfer of part of the securities given to him.

When a few years of Peace have brought back a portion of that wealth which the War had carried out of the Kingdom, then the value of Money begins to decrease, and it may be borrowed at less interest than five *per cent.*, because the competition in the Market is then on the contrary side to what it was before, and there exists a greater eagerness to dispose of Money than to borrow it.

From this, which is the natural course of things, we may learn how ineffectual, and consequently how impolitick, it is to attempt to fix, by legal restraints, that which will ever be a matter of bargain, and consequently ever in a state of fluctuation.

Another cause of the depreciation in Money is the product of modern times, and is derived from an increased quantity of a substitute for actual Coins. This has produced effects highly to be deplored, for it has given an apparent increase to the Money in circulation, whilst in reality it has added nothing valuable to it. This it has done by enabling the Money to act in a double capacity, once in its real form where the actual Coins are circulated, and again in the form of a Promissory Note, whose value is, in fact, founded

upon those very Coins. When this bubble bursts, which it must whenever it is blown too large, or any sudden and extensive check is given to individual credit, the widely-spreading evil, which is now denied by some, will be as severely felt as was the mischievous imposition of the South Sea Scheme.

The political reasons by which Government is guided in permitting individuals to form Money of Paper, which has no intrinsic worth, whilst it punishes with death the striking it in real Gold and Silver, and forbids even the issue of Tokens (which are in fact promissory notes) if composed of the precious metals, has never yet been detailed to the Publick, and therefore I presume not to conjecture what its nature may be. All I dare to contend for is this, that a Coinage which costs a man nothing will probably be carried to a greater extent than that wherein materials more costly are employed. As a check upon ruinous issues of the former kind, the publick safety seems to require that private Bankers should return to Parliament regular Statements of their Notes which are in currency, similar to that which is periodically made out by the Bank of England. From this some judgment might be formed of the proportion which their issues bear to their means of responsibility.

The progress of the Depreciation of Money from the Norman Conquest to about the latter end of the 18th Century may be seen in the accurate Table annexed, which is borrowed from Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's Memoir on a Standard for Weight and Measure^P.

^P Philosophical Transactions for 1798, Part I.

A Table exhibiting in Decimals, at different Periods, from the Conquest inferred therefrom. To which is added, the Mean App the present Century, at shorter Periods, deduced by Int

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Year of our Lord.	Wheat per Bushel.		Labour in Husbandry, per day.		Depreciation of Money, according to the Price of					Mean Appreciation by Interpolation.	
	s. d.		s. d.		Wheat	12 Miscellaneous Articles	Meat	Day Labour	Mean of All	A. D.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.							
1050	0	2½	1	1	10	42			26	1050	26
1150	0	4½	0	1						1100	34
				0	2					1150	43
1250	1	7½	1	1						1200	51
										1250	60
1350	1	10½	0	1	100	56		75	77	1300	68
				0	3					1350	77
1450	1	5	0	3½						1400	83
1550	1	10½	0	4	100	100	100	100	100	1450	88
										1500	94
1600	4	5½	0	6						1550	100
1625	4	11	0	6½						1600	144
1650	5	6								1650	189
1675	4	6	5	10	246	239	166	189	210	1675	210
1700	4	9½								1700	238
1720	4	4½	0	8						1720	257
1740	3	8	10	9	197	434	266	250	287	1740	287
1760	3	9½	14	0	203	492	400	275	342	1760	384
				11						1770	427
1780	4	5½	1	2						1790	496
1795	7	10	1	5½	426	752	511	436	531	1795	531
										1800	562

or the integer, viz. 100.

Besides most of; viz. Bishop FLEETWOOD's *Chronicon Pretiosum*, 1st and 2d edit. *Libere*, 1791. Collection of Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household, 11th volume of the *Archæologia*. An Enquiry into the Prices of Wheat, 1768. Dr. SMITH's *Wealth of Nations*. Sir JAMES STEUART



This Depreciation passes almost unnoticed in a commercial country, because it lays no check upon trade, which has the means of counteracting it, and probably of profiting by it, in its own power ; but a large and useful portion of the community, which subsists on pensions, annuities, interest of money, or prescriptive payments, is the innocent and unhappy victim of it.

OF THE SCARCITY OF MONEY.

The want of a sufficient quantity of Coins for the internal commerce of a Nation may arise from various causes. The Annals of the Coinage of this Kingdom, in ancient times, will furnish instances where it has been occasioned by an actual deficiency of issues from the Mint ; but the chief cause will be found in the undervaluing of the Coins, which, in the present as well as in former times, has made it profitable to reduce them into Bullion. To the effects of this strange policy, and the co-operation of unfavourable exchanges, the disappearance of the Coins after they have been put in currency is, I believe, principally to be imputed.

OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN COINS.

The motives for the adoption and legitimation of Foreign Money, in this Kingdom, were sometimes an incapacity to keep up, from the produce of our own Mints, a constant supply of circulating medium ; and at others, probably, a wish to accommodate the Merchants, who, when the balance of trade was in favour of this Country, brought a considerable

quantity of Foreign Specie into it. Other reasons will be found to have co-operated with these, at different times.

In the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman periods the want of native Gold Coins occasioned the circulation of Bezants.

Our Conquests in France introduced the Coins of that Nation.

The Union of the Two Crowns of England and Scotland, under James I., produced a great influx of Scottish Money.

For a long time the balance of trade with Portugal was so much in favour of this Country, that immense quantities of the Coins of that Kingdom were annually brought over. These were permitted to be current, and were circulated all over England, but more especially in the Western Counties, where, about the beginning of the 18th century, very little of any other Gold Money was to be found.

Since these were withdrawn, which happened shortly after the middle of the same century, no Foreign Money has been current, except small quantities of French Silver, which were surreptitiously brought in at the latter end of that century, on account of the deficiency of legal Coins.

I shall now close this Introductory Discourse, and proceed to the Annals of the Coinage, some parts of which it is calculated to explain.

ANNALS OF THE COINAGE OF BRITAIN, &c.

THE Inhabitants of Britain, who, by their insular situation, were nearly separated from the rest of mankind, seem to have made less progress toward civilization than their neighbours on the Continent, when Cæsar landed upon their coast, about the 699th year of Rome, or 55 years before the Christian æra. He describes them as a people then just emerging from barbarism, and no further acquainted with Commerce than to have discovered that it could not be conducted by simple barter alone*. This the Eastern Britons probably learned from the Gaulish Merchants, who carried on a slight degree of traffick with them; whilst those of the Western parts derived it from the Phœnicians, then the great traders of the world, with whom an intercourse had for some centuries subsisted, for the purchase of Tin, at that time supposed to be the peculiar product of Britain, or the British Isles. It is, however, difficult to ascertain, from Cæsar's account, whether the Britons had proceeded so far as actually to coin Money, or whether they were not contented with rude pieces of brass, and iron rings or plates, regu-

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

lated to a certain weight. The more precious metals, if his statement be correct, did not circulate amongst them ^b.

Were his accuracy, and extent of information, entirely to be depended upon, no other evidence would be necessary to prove, that the Coins which are usually attributed to the early British Kings belong to some other nation, for they occur in Gold and Silver, as well as in the inferior metals to which his description, provided it should be taken to intend actual Money, absolutely confines them. I know not indeed on what ground the authority of Cæsar, as to this point, can be impeached. It was his interest rather to magnify than to diminish the value and importance of his conquest; and the reasons which are assigned by Suetonius for his invasion of Britain, and his character for rapacity after plunder ^c, forbid the possibility of a suspicion that he should have neglected to make sufficient inquiries on a subject so interesting as the wealth of its inhabitants. Nor is it possible that he should have penetrated to any considerable distance from the coast, without discovering, either in the plundered habitations, or

^b Id. *ibid.* In the first edition of the Commentaries, printed at Rome in 1469, folio, the passage stands thus: "Utuntur tamen ære, ut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummis." In subsequent editions it is very much corrupted.

^c "Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus." Suetonius, lib. I. cap. 47.

"In Gallia fana, templaque Deûm donis referta expilavit; urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam ob delictum." Id. cap. 54.

about the persons of those slain in battle, some traces of a Coinage of the more precious metals ^d.

Had he stated the nature of the tribute which he imposed upon Cassivellan, the question respecting British Money would have been decided, for without doubt it consisted of the best things which the land afforded. But he has described it only in general terms ^e; which authorize a suspicion that it was of a kind too mean to be particularized.

If we proceed to examine the Coins themselves, they furnish no proofs to justify their appropriation to any Country. The far greater part of them is without any legend; and on the rest are to be found only initial letters, or at most single syllables, which by the ingenuity of Antiquaries have been compelled to express any meaning they have thought fit to adopt ^f. As many of these letters are applicable to the names of Gaulish Princes which are mentioned by Cæsar or Tacitus, it is possible that the Coins which bear them might have been brought into

^d As the people of Kent were, according to his character of them ^{*}, the most civilized inhabitants of the Island, it is probable that if money were to be found amongst the Britons, it would have been discovered in their possession.

^e Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

^f See Dr. Stukeley's twenty-three Plates; where he has pressed into the British service Coins of almost every nation upon earth. It is true that these Plates were not published by Dr. Stukeley himself; but he had frequently spoken of them, and of British Coins in general, in such a manner as to prove his intention of publishing them, and consequently to justify his executor, so far as Dr. Stukeley's reputation as a Numismatist was concerned, in giving them to the world. See *Palæographia Sacra*, p. 66; and Letter to Macpherson on his publication of *Fingal*, pp. 8, 11.

^{*} Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

Britain from Gaul. This opinion has, however, been strongly combated by Borlase, who says that "no Coins exactly similar to those found in Britain have ever been discovered, in any number, in any other Country;" and, more expressly, he declares that "not one ever appears to have been dug up in Gaul."^g If this assertion be admitted in its fullest extent, but little doubt can remain that these Coins are correctly appropriated to Britain, where they are so frequently found in considerable numbers. The words of Cæsar, however, forbid me to admit that they were in existence when he landed on this Island, and therefore, if they be British, their origin must be referred to some period subsequent to his second invasion, and prior to Cunobeline's improvement of his Coins, in imitation of the Roman Money. This it is true will give but a short space for their formation; but the supposition appears to me more plausible than any which may be formed in direct opposition to Cæsar's account. Specimens of this Money, in various metals, will be found in the Plates^h.

The earliest Coin which can, with the least appearance of probability, be attributed to any particular British Monarch, bears upon it the letters SEGO, possibly for Segonaxⁱ. He was one of the four petty Kentish Monarchs who, by the command of Cassivellan, attacked Cæsar's camp upon his second invasion of Britain. They were defeated,

^g History of Cornwall, 2d edit. pp. 269, 271.

^h See Plates 1, 2, 3, and 4. It may be observed that Cunobeline's earliest Coins bear no slight resemblance to some of the specimens in these Plates.

ⁱ British Coins, Plate IV.

and Cassivellan immediately submitted to the Conqueror ^k.

The probability that this Coin is British is somewhat strengthened by the word TASCIO which appears upon it, for the first time, but is afterward repeatedly found upon the Money of a succeeding Monarch, of whose Coins a considerable number has been preserved.

On entering upon his reign, we are able to attain to a greater certainty of appropriation than the preceding Coin afforded. The name of Cunobeline written at length can leave but little hesitation as to what name is intended by the abbreviations CVN, CVNO, and CVNOBELI; and the union of some of those abbreviations with CAMV and CAMVL, the leading letters of Camulodunum [Colchester], the capital of Cunobeline's Kingdom ^l, forms a coincidence not easily to be accounted for, if we refuse to receive the Coins as the production of that Monarch's Mints.

Of Cunobeline little more is known than that he reigned over the Cateuchlani, the Trinobantes, and the Dobuni, and that his dominions extended from the coasts of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, across the Island Westward, to the banks of the Severn. He is supposed to have reigned during the times of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, and to have been brought up by the former of these Emperors ^m.

As no author has afforded any information respecting the state of the arts under his government, our ideas must be derived from his Coins, which are the

^k Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

^l It is expressly called so by Dio Cassius.

^m Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History, Book IV. chap. xi. Suetonius, in the Life of Caligula.

only specimens that have been preserved to these times. The types of the greater part are apparently formed upon the model of the Roman Money, and their resemblance to it adds considerable weight to the account which Jeffrey of Monmouth has given of the friendship which subsisted between Cunobeline and the Romansⁿ. On some of these Coins the name of the Monarch is given with a Latin termination; and the devices which are impressed upon others are evident imitations of the Coins of Augustus Cæsar. All the letters are plainly Roman^o. But it is in outward appearance alone that these Coins agree with the Roman Money of that period in which Cunobeline is generally supposed to have reigned, for in weight they are widely different^p. The cause of this variation from the prototype in so important a point cannot now be ascertained; but it seems to justify a suspicion that the weights were regulated in conformity with other British Money then current; and in confirmation of this suspicion, it may be observed, that some of the Coins which bear the united names of Cunobeline and Camulodunum, resemble in type those which are usually attributed to earlier British Kings.

On many of the Coins with the name of Cunobeline a word appears that has occasioned much controversy, but without any elucidation of its meaning, which still remains involved in impenetrable obscurity. It is commonly written TASCIO, but sometimes TASCIA. By some Antiquaries it has

ⁿ Jeffrey of Monmouth, as above.

^o Plates of British Coins, IV. and V. See an Alphabet formed from the legends of Gaulish Coins in Bouterouë, p. 157, the peculiar letters of which do not appear on any of Cunobeline's Money.

^p See Explanations of the above Plates.

been supposed to signify Tribute, and that the Money so stamped was intended for the particular purpose of paying the impositions which the Romans had laid upon the Britons^q. Though this opinion bear the sanction of great names, yet it cannot be admitted without further proof than the uncertain supposed derivation from Tag; whether that British term be considered as equivalent to *taxatio*, or as designating the dignity of chief or prince by whom the tribute was to be paid; for, I believe, no other instance can be produced of a Coinage expressly formed for one peculiar kind of payment only; and that Coinage also of workmanship so rude as not to be calculated for currency amongst the people to whom it was to be paid. That Tascio has not the meaning of King, or Chief, appears probable, from its being found on the Reverse of a Coin of Cunobeline, who is styled *Cunobelinus Rex* on the Obverse^r.

Mr. Wise inclined to think that it meant the name of either a people or a city; and fancied that his conjecture was confirmed by discovering in Pliny, Lib. 3, "*TASCODVNITARI CONONIENSIS, Gallicæ Narbonensis Populum*;" or, as Harduin read the words from MSS. *TASCODVNI TARVCVNONIENSES*^s.

According to the interpretation of other learned men, TASCIO is the name of the Moneyer. To this explanation, though it is doubtless much more plau-

^q CAMDEN, on the authority of Dr. Powell. Gough's *Britannia*, vol. I. p. lxxv. BAXTER, *Glossary in voce*. CARTE, *Hist. of England*, vol. I. p. 98. PETTINGAL, *Dissertation on the Tascia*.

^r See Plate V. No 19.

^s *Num. Antiq. in Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum Catalogus*, p. 226.

sible than the former, there are objections which cannot easily be obviated. In the first place it will be difficult to prove that TASCIO or TASCIA is a Roman or British name; and in the next place, the custom of placing the Moneyer's name upon the Coins is of modern origin when compared with the date of this Money; it is also a circumstance not readily to be accounted for, that only one other instance is known where any word which can be supposed the name of a Moneyer^t occurs, although nearly forty varieties of Cunobeline's Coins have been discovered.

If however a Moneyer be intended by this word, it is clear that he had no connection with the Mint at Camulodunum, as it is not to be found on the various Coins whereon the name of that place is impressed; but appears either alone, or joined with VA. VAN. VANI. VANIT. or NOVA, which I know not how to explain, or with VER, which is with great probability supposed to mean Verulam; for VERLAMIO is found, at length, on Coins of similar workmanship; and the importance of this city, the capital of Cunobeline's original dominions, would in all probability entitle it to the privilege of a Mint.

In consequence of the connexion between the names of Cunobeline and TASCIO, those Coins which bear the latter name, without the former, are usually attributed to that Monarch; and the propriety of this appropriation is in some measure confirmed by the similarity in style of the Coins themselves.

^t That is, SOLIDO. See Appendix to Plates of British and Anglo-Saxon Coins, Plate XXIX. Another Coin reads TASCIO VRIION, which I know not how to explain. See the same Plate.

If the Money which bears the name of Verulam be rightly given to Cunobeline, it should seem that he had two Mints established in his dominions; one at that place, now St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, and the other at Camulodunum, now Colchester in Essex v.

It is probable that the British Coinage closed with the Money of this Monarch; for in a very few years after his decease the second subjection of Britain took place, under Claudius; and was so compleat and severe, that the country became rather a Roman

v The opinion of a late eminent Antiquary on this subject must not be concealed, although it attempts to annihilate, at one blow, all British Coinage whatsoever. He says, "it is easy to demonstrate that the Coins of Cunobelin, on which the advocates for the existence of British Money build their principal proofs, together with all the rest of the British series exhibited and speciously explained by Camden, Thoresby, and Walker, are either pieces of Saxon Mintage in England, or were imported by the Saxons from Germany, or by the Romans from their conquered provinces. To suppose that some of them were Northern, and that they found their way into England, after Rome had been sacked in the great Gothick migration, would open a new and ample field of rational hypothesis." Warton's *Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire*, 2d edition, p. 68.

Had the learned author been at all conversant with Saxon Coinage, he would never have hazarded so untenable a position, as that the Money which bears the name of Cunobeline could be referred to the workmanship of that people.

The whole extract, which is in every part unsupported by any thing like proof, exhibits a striking example of the ease with which the firmest mind may be warped by a preconceived hypothesis. Warton borrowed this idea from his friend Wise, who derived it from Salmon's *Survey of England*. [Num. antiq. *Scr. Bodleianis recond. Catalogus*, p. 228.] That, however, which was only conjecture with Wise and Salmon, became absolute proof to the mind of Warton.

than a British Island. Among other circumstances which prove the entire subjugation of the Britons, the edict which ordained that all Money current amongst them should bear the imperial stamp, is peculiarly conclusive. This fact is related by Gildas^u, and is warranted by the usual practice of the Romans^w.

That this prohibition was followed up by the establishment of Roman Mints in Britain is highly probable, although no satisfactory evidence can be brought forward to prove the fact. That which is usually adduced is nothing more than initial letters upon the Coins, which are equally applicable to many other places within the Roman Empire, where Mints were undoubtedly situated^x. The Coins of Carausius and Allectus, the seat of whose Empire was in Britain, have a strong claim to be considered as the production of British Mints, but by no means a decided one, for the dominions of both those Emperors extended to the Continent, and one of them at least was acknowledged as partner in the general Empire, and had in consequence correspondence and connection with the places where Mints had been long established. The Coins themselves furnish no evidence to determine the question; though, from single letters or syllables upon them, the exist-

^u De excidio Britanniae, cap. 5.

^w It is observable that those Britons who retired into Wales never struck Money during their state of independence upon the Monarchs of England; neither was any Money ever coined specially for them after they were conquered by Edward I.

^x Fabian Philips says that Julius Cæsar coined leather money in Britain, but quotes no authority for the strange assertion. See Archæologia, vol. XIII. pp. 187, 188.

Coins of Carausius and Allectus are sought for by foreign Collectors of Roman Coins from England. - Carausius's money is very rarely indeed found on the Continent, and I am told Allectus's never. In England the small brass of these Emperors (they are scarcely ever fine) are worth about a shilling a piece. By the Collectors up the Rhine and I suppose France they are bought eagerly at three, four, and five shillings a piece. H. E.

ence of various Mints in Britain during the reign of Carausius has been fancifully determined y.

The Romans, having kept possession of their Conquests in Britain nearly 400 years, totally deserted that Island about the middle of the 5th century.

y Dr. Stukeley (who, to adopt Dr. Johnson's expression, "bent a keen eye on vacancy") hesitates not to point out the particular places where many of the Coins of Carausius were minted, and likewise to determine the precise days on which most of them were struck. According to him the Mints were these :

c Cataractonium ; the Thornburgh Mint at Cateric. In another place this Mint is removed to Cirencester, from the evidence of the same Coin. *Palæographia Britannica*, No III. p. 21.

CLA. Clausentum ; Southampton.

IM. Isurium Monetarium ; Aldborough, Yorkshire.

ML. Monetarium Londinense ; London.

M. Menapia ; St. David's.

R. Rutupium ; Richborough.

s. Sorbioduni ; Old Sarum. *Medallic History of Carausius*, Book I. p. 278.

But though no evidence exists of the working of legitimate Roman Mints in Britain, there is, however, sufficient proof that counterfeiters of their Money carried on their operations here. Several hundred moulds for casting Roman Coins were discovered at Edington, in Somersetshire, in the year 1901, in consequence of a disclosure of them at some former period, which is recorded in Mr. Gough's *Camden*, vol. I. p. 71. That these were the tools of counterfeiters is evident from this circumstance, that moulds for the Coins of different Emperors, &c. were found together, namely, for Severus, Julia his wife, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximin, Maximus, Plautilla, Julia Paula, and Julia Mammæa ; for the casting of these at the same time could only take place in the hands of illegal coiners. One Coin, which was principally of tin, was found in the moulds, and a lump of the same metal was also dug up with them. Other moulds for the same purpose have been discovered at Ryton in Shropshire, and at Lingivel in Yorkshire. See *Archæologia*, vol. XIII. p. 99.

My own opinion is that such moulds for casting coins were carried with the Roman armies occasionally in the Provinces : and that coins were cast as they were wanted to pay the soldiers. No moulds for first or second brass, I believe have ever been found. All I have seen were moulds for de-

Such moulds for making coins of this kind are found upon the continent as well as in England. In 1829 I saw many such in the Museum at Boulogne which had been found in the neighbourhood.

Soon after their departure, the Britons, who had been previously weakened by their tyranny and oppression, and were now left totally defenceless by the withdrawing of the Legions, were compelled to solicit the aid of the Saxons, to protect them against the inroads of their powerful neighbours. The required assistance was readily granted; but the Saxons, having in the character of allies, once got footing in the kingdom, soon settled themselves too firmly to be removed, and by degrees brought the whole country under their subjection. The conquered were then compelled to adopt the laws and customs, and, in a great measure, the language of their conquerors, and were at length so intimately mingled with them as to form one people under the common denomination of Anglo Saxons.

They were not, however, at first under the government of a sole Monarch, but seven (as they are more usually numbered, though in fact they were eight²) distinct Kingdoms were formed, at different periods, as the Commanders of the invading armies were able to establish their authority, and of various extent in proportion to their power.

Until these petty Dominions were entirely subdued, the Roman Money probably continued to circulate in them; but, when their respective Sovereigns were quietly settled on their thrones, they established Mints, which appear to have been regulated by laws brought with them from the Continent. This conclusion is formed from their dissi-

² They are thus enumerated by Rudborne: Kent; South Saxons; East Saxons; East Angles; West Saxons; Mercia; Northunberland, divided into two kingdoms, Deira, and Bernicia. Hist. Major Wintoniensis, p. 187.

milarity to those by which the Roman Mints were governed, and which alone were then in force on this Island. It has, however, been doubted whether the Saxons possessed, at their arrival in Britain, any knowledge of the art of Coinage; and the account which Tacitus gave of that people, at the latter end of the first century, has been strangely insisted on as descriptive of their manners, after a lapse of nearly four hundred years^a. In truth, the state of the arts amongst them at that period, and during the following century, is involved in almost impenetrable obscurity. History is totally silent, and scarcely any relicks are to be found; but those few which do remain are fortunately such as will elucidate the subject of our enquiry. Sceattæ are known of the early Kings of Kent, some of which must have been struck within the sixth century; and there are others so similar to them in type as to justify their appropriation to the same people, but which, from their symbols, were evidently coined before their conversion to Christianity^b, and were, therefore, probably brought with them from the Continent.

Those who deny that the Saxons possessed any knowledge of the art of Coinage before they landed in Britain, will find it extremely difficult to point out the source from whence they derived it after

^a Pegge's *Assemblage of Coins* fabricated by Archbishops of Canterbury, p. 42.

^b See Plates of Sceattæ, where several will be found without the distinguishing mark of Christianity. It is also wanting on the Sceatta of Ethilbert I. King of Kent, in whose reign the conversion of the Saxons from Paganism, by St. Augustine, commenced. See Plate III.

their arrival; for the Anglo-Saxon Money bears not, either in form, type, or weight, the least resemblance to those Coins which at that time were the current specie of the Island^c. This must necessarily have been composed of Roman Money with, possibly, a small intermixture of the British, neither of which could have been the prototype of the Saxon. That the barbarous workmanship of the British Coins should not have excited their imitation is not surprising; but that they should have continued their own rude mode of coining, in preference to the beautiful specimens of Roman art which were constantly before their eyes, must be ascribed to a rooted detestation of that people, whose oppression they had experienced, and whose manners and customs they therefore abhorred to follow.

No records of the internal Constitution of the Heptarchic Mints have hitherto been discovered, for their Laws are entirely silent upon the subject, and all the information which can be collected from the Coins which remain is merely this, that the Money was of equal weight and, probably, fineness with the later Anglo-Saxon Pennies; and that the Moneyers stamped their names upon it; but that the custom of adding the place of mintage was of very rare occurrence, and almost solely confined to

^c Amongst the almost innumerable various types which are found upon the Anglo-Saxon Money, there are only two known which can with any possibility be derived from the Romans. These are, a Sceatta, unappropriated [Plate I. No 25], and a Penny of Ethilbert II. [Plate III.], both of which bear on the reverse an uncouth representation of the Wolf, with Romulus and Remus.

the Ecclesiastical Coins of Canterbury^d. When the Heptarchy was dissolved, and its different Kingdoms were united in one Sovereignty, it appears that the Mints were regulated by laws framed in the Wittenagemote, or Great Council of the Nation, although the Moneyers are expressly said to be the King's^e. Besides the Royal Mints, there were others in which the privilege of coining was exercised by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well under the Heptarchic Kings as under the sole Monarchy^f.

The weight which was used in these Mints differed from that which was applied to commercial purposes^g, and was probably brought with them from the Continent, as it varied considerably from the Roman, which it exceeded in power, and was nearly similar to that which is still used in Germany for the regulation of Money, and which has long been known in that country by the name of the Cologne Pound^h. It has been conjectured that the

^d See Plate III. Beldred, No 1; the earliest instance of the name of a Mint on an Heptarchic Coin.

^e Leges Æthelstani. Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicae, p. 59.

^f See a more enlarged account of the Ecclesiastical Mints, in the Introduction to the Account of the several Mints which have at various times existed in Britain, and its dependencies.

^g That Pound consisted of fifteen ounces. See Bromton, Col. 899.

^h The old Tower, or Saxon Ounce, as taken from the Accounts in our Exchequer,	Troy Grains.	Dec.
A. D. 1527 - - - - -	450.	—
The present Colonia Ounce - - - - -	451.	38
The Strasburg Ounce, from Standards made 1238 - - - - -	451.	38

Saxons derived this weight, and its application to Money, from the Greeks, in consequence of their mercantile intercourse with that people; and the conjecture has been supported by the following arguments. First, the near resemblance of the Grecian and Anglo-Saxon weights and measures, both of length and capacity. Secondly, the forming the greater weights and estimates upon the same combinations of the Pound. This is instanced in the nummulary Talent, which was in common use by the Greeks, and according to which the Anglo-Saxons rated their greater fines, that is, by multiples of 60 Pounds. The Talent was also common to both people as a weight, and continues to be so used in the Mint to this day; for the journey of Silver, or the quantity which is weighed off at one time, is sixty pounds, and the journey of Gold one fourth of that weight. Thirdly, the common way of reckoning Money among the Saxons, by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, which resembles the Greek *Minæ*, *Drachmæ*, and *Oboli*.

And, lastly, their mode of stating fractions, or parts of quantities, which is exactly similar to the Greek idiom. For *þrīoðe halfe hund*, and *feorðe healfe hund*, two hundred and fifty, and three hundred and fifty, are exactly equivalent to *πέντετον ἡμιτάλαντον*, and *ἑξέδομον ἡμιτάλαντον*, four Talents and a half, and six Talents and a half, one half part

The old Saxon or Tower Ounce, from the	Troy Grains.	Dec.
Chamber of Accounts at Paris, about Edward the III'd's time, after 1327	- -	451. 76

Clarke's Connexion, p. 24.

From a passage in Matthew Paris it appears, that in 1249 the German Money was somewhat lighter than the English. P. 665.

of each individual number or sum being deducted in all the instancesⁱ.

But, notwithstanding the resemblances here traced, it by no means follows that the Saxons must necessarily have been imitators of the Greeks. For, it is scarcely credible that they should have borrowed so much from them, without having borrowed something more; and it might with reason be expected that some at least of their nummery terms should be referable to the Greek language. As this is clearly not the case^k, it is to be suspected that both the Greeks and Saxons derived their ideas of Money from one common source; that is, either immediately or mediately from Egypt, the grand reservoir from which science overspread the earth. The precise weight of the Saxon Money Pound cannot now be ascertained by positive evidence, because the Coins (the only authorities remaining from whence it might have been deduced) are of such rude and unequal workmanship, that no certain conclusions can be drawn from them to that point. Presumptive evidence, however, is not wanting to shew that it was the same as that which was so long known in our Mints by the name of the Pound Tower^l.

ⁱ Clarke's Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, p. 28, &c.

^k Mr. Clarke, at p. 36, gives a short specimen of the affinity between the Greek and the Saxon languages, in which not a single instance of any term relating to Money occurs, and, in the only word which is connected with the subject of our inquiry, considerable etymological enthusiasm will be necessary to trace a resemblance between the Greek $\alpha\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and the Saxon $þiht$.

^l Mr. Folkes first made this important discovery. See Table of English Silver Coins, p. 3, note *.

When William the Conqueror ratified the Laws of Edward the Confessor, he declared that the weights and measures which had been established by his predecessors should still continue to be used^m. That the Mints were regulated according to this declaration, not only during his reign, but also in those of his successors, until the 28th of Edward I. may be inferred from the Coins of that period, which have this agreement with the Saxon Pennies, that they are of the same standard of fineness, and that the heaviest of them are equal to, but never exceed, the weight of the largest of those Coins, whilst the smallest do not fall short of the lightest which have been hitherto discovered.

The Saxon Pound was also, like the Pound Tower, divided into twelve ouncesⁿ.

If this supposition of the identity of the Saxon Pound and the Pound Tower be just, then the weight of the former will be equal to 5400 Troy grains, being three quarters of an ounce lighter than the Pound of that denomination; for that is declared to be the proportion of the Pounds Tower and Troy in a Proclamation of the 18th of Henry VIII. With this Estimate, the size of both the Saxon and early Norman Pennies agree, as nearly as could be expected from the rude workmanship of

^m Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae*; p. 228.

ⁿ This appears from a *Treatise de Computo*, which has been ascribed to Bede*. It says, *Libra, sive As, est duodecim uncia-rum*. Clarke's *Connexion*, p. 14.

* As this *Treatise* was written in the year 980 [See Smith's edition of Bede, p. 814], it could not be the composition of Bede, who died before the middle of the 8th century.

those times ; for, according to it, each Penny should weigh $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, which many of them actually do, and very few indeed of them exceed. That some of them fall short of this weight may be accounted for, with great probability, partly from the inaccuracy of the workmen, and partly from the necessities of the Monarch by whose command they were struck.

Before we proceed to enumerate the Coins which were formed as proportions of this Pound, it will be necessary to clear the way by determining whether the Saxons coined any Gold. As this question has been a good deal agitated, and still remains unsettled, it may be proper to enter into it at some length. The chief arguments on the affirmative are to be found in the works of Mr. Clarke^o and Dr. Pegge^p.

The former begins by stating, that “the Laws of all Nations, *in their first settlements at least*, estimate all their sums of Money either by such nummular weights, or such Coins, as were then certainly in use among them. Making payments, or fixing penalties, in such denominations of Money as were not then in being, was a thing utterly unknown: these are the effects of time, when, by revolutions in the state, or distress in the finances, the Government is obliged to take new measures, and alter their Coins. The Salic Laws estimate every single fine in such Coins as were then actually current in

^o Clarke's Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, 4to. London, 1767.

^p Pegge's Series of Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains, 4to. London, 1756.

France, as appears by the several sorts of them now remaining." ^q

Without the qualifying words which I have given in Italicks, this argument is inadmissible, and with them it is totally inapplicable to the case as it is made out by Mr. Clarke: for the earliest instance which he has produced with a date is in the year 876, more than four centuries after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain; a period sufficiently long for all the effects of time, which he speaks of, to have taken place. Mr. Clarke thus proceeds: "Purchases of estates were made, and legacies bequeathed, in Mancuses, by weight. Can it be believed that mere ideal Money was ever ordered to be paid by weight?" ^r He afterwards says, that "paying Money by weight is a sufficient proof that it was no nominal estimate." ^s

This argument, if pursued to its utmost extent, will prove more than its author intended to assert; for what then will be the *Solidi ad Pondus*, and the *Libræ ad Pondus*, of Domesday Book? If they are to be considered as actual Coins because they were paid by weight, we shall be reduced to the absurdity of admitting that the Penny, the Shilling, and the Pound, were of equal weight, for they are so stated to be in that Record. We there find, *Denar' qui sunt xx^{ti} in ora^t*; *Sol. de xx^{ti} in ora^v*; *Lib. de xx^{ti} in ora^v*; all of which appear to bear the same proportion to the ounce. But this appearance is occasioned by the brief and, in consequence, obscure manner of statement. When they are written at

^q Clarke's Connexion, p. 272.

^r Connexion, p. 273.

^s Id. p. 291, note [t].

^t Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 1.

^u Id. fol. 11, b.

^v Id. folio 34.

length, they appear thus, without any possibility of their being misunderstood: *Solid. de den' xx^{ti} in ora^x*; or *Lib. de denar' qui sunt xx^{ti} in ora^x*. Weight, therefore, is no proof that the Money to which it is annexed was an actual Coin, but only that it was a determinate quantity of known Coins. Nor, if it should be admitted as such proof, would it go the length which Mr. Clarke's object requires, which is to prove that the Mancus was a Saxon Coin.

But, says he, "as specific legacies were left in Mancuses, is it not evident that they were English Coins? During the long and frequent currency of Portugal Gold in this Kingdom, I never heard that any legacies were left in Moidores, or six and thirty Shilling Pieces."^x

These two cases are, however, by no means parallel ones. During the time that the Portugal Money circulated in this kingdom, there existed likewise a lawful Gold Coin, or, more properly speaking, a denomination of Coin which would appear in all legal acts. I say denomination of Coin, because I believe a legacy in Guineas instead of Pounds is of almost as rare occurrence as one in Portugal Money. But, supposing that a bequest of Moidores should be found, would it any more amount to a proof that they were English Coins, than a legacy in Pounds proves them to be actual Coins?

Mr. Clarke proceeds thus: "Gold was sufficiently plentiful amongst the Saxons^a, and had been coined in almost all the Gothic Settlements ever since the

^x Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 2, b.

^y Id. fol. 1.

^z Connexion, p. 275.

^a Id. p. 276.

subversion of the Roman Government. Therefore our Monarchs, now grown more considerable, and ranking higher in Europe, must have followed their example.”^b

This MUST^c is a round assertion, but no proof. The Author states that Gold had been coined in *almost all* the Gothic Settlements, consequently *not in all*; and the same reasons, whatever they were, which prevented coining in some of the Gothic Settlements, might also have prevented coining by the Saxons.

“Where the Drachmæ were the Goldsmiths’ weights, they were likewise the common Coins. The weight and value of many Saxon ornaments, &c. of Gold were almost always estimated in Mancuses. Is not the fact almost as evident in this case, that, where the Mancuses were the usual Goldsmiths’ weights, they had certainly such Coins? The Coins of any other country would never have been, for very obvious reasons, the standard of the Saxon weights.”^d

Yet Mr. Clarke, at the page referred to below^e, acknowledges that the Mancus was originally an adopted Coin. Will his argument prove that it was ever naturalized by the Saxons? The tenor of his reasoning in this case also, as in a former one, will lead him to prove too much; for it is as applicable to the Pound as to the Mancus.

“There was certainly no more difficulty in coin-

^b Connexion, p. 278.

^c I know not when this lofty term took place of the more modest *possibly* and *probably*, which seem to be the proper language of conjecture.

^d Connexion, p. 276.

^e Id. p. 280.

ing a Mancus than a Penny. Towards the middle of the ninth century, our Artists in England were not much inferior to the best in Europe.”^f

To infer, from what man can do, what he has actually done, is surely most inconclusive. The Coins of the Anglo-Norman Kings might, by this mode of arguing, be proved not to have been struck by them; because their Seals are of workmanship infinitely superior to them, and consequently their Coins MUST have been more highly finished.

“Legal fines were estimated, and cattle were valued, in Mancuses. In such instances, which more immediately concerned almost the lowest rank of inhabitants, to make the Laws speak the language of another country, and adjust their fines and petty controversies by the value of such Coins as were never uttered from their own Mints, must have been a very unaccountable absurdity.”^g

Absurd as this practice may seem to be, yet it has continued even to our times, for fines are at this day estimated by Marks and Pounds. Those persons whom Mr. Clarke has represented as being more immediately interested in the above estimates and valuation were, probably, of all the inhabitants, the least concerned in them; for a fine of any number of Mancuses, each of which was then the price of an ox, was not likely to affect almost the lowest ranks of mankind.

“Archbishop Ælfric, specifying the several sorts of Money in England, says five Pennies make a Shilling, and thirty Pennies a Manco. The Archbishop, as appears by the broken remains of the former paragraph, had observed that the Romans had

^f Connexion, p. 278.

^g Id. p. 282.

a great variety of names for their Coins, but the English had usually only three. The Romans applied all their nummulary language to such real Coins as were struck within that empire; and must not the English appellations be understood in the same manner? Is there any other way of making tolerable sense of this passage, but by admitting that the Mancus was an English Coin? To take it in any other view, makes the paragraph contradict itself; for a Pound is certainly as much Money of account as a Mancus or Shilling. If the Archbishop had not confined his observations to his own country, he would have enlarged his catalogue by the Byzantine Aurei, and the Frank Sols."^h

I see not how any conclusion can be drawn from *Ælfric's* statement, which is so imperfect, that its intention cannot even be guessed. It stands entirely unconnected with the passage that precedes it, and is itself the concluding paragraph, so that no assistance can be derived from the context. Even if Mr. Clarke's idea of the purport of that which is wanting in the fragment were to be allowed, yet it is evident the Archbishop's enumeration does not contain all the Coins which were then current, for the Halfpenny, the Farthing, and the Styca are omittedⁱ. An omission for which it will be impossible

^h Connexion, p. 282.

ⁱ If I were here arguing personally with Mr. Clarke, I should add to these Coins the Thrimsa, which, at p. 235, he considers as real Money, but which is not found in *Ælfric's* list; and also the Shilling of four pence, which Mr. Clarke admits is to be found in the laws of Aethelstan, together with the Shilling of five pennies. Connexion, p. 153. *Ælfric*, too, in his translation of Exodus, c. xxi. ver. 10, speaks of a Shilling of twelve pennies.

satisfactorily to account, if it be previously taken for granted that a distinct and correct list of all the Coins then struck by the Saxons was intended. The same incongruous mixture of the names of real Coins, and of Money of account (which is by Mr. Clarke deemed so absurd) still has a place in common speech; for should we not now say that twelve Pence make a Shilling, and twenty Shillings a Pound, without any design of representing the latter as a Coin?

Mr. Clarke considers the mention of *golbe*, together with *reolþne*, in Canute's Law, as decisive that Gold Coins were intended as well as Silver; and asks, "had this regulation been confined to the Silver Pennies only, why is Gold mentioned in the Law at all?"^k But I apprehend that the Law means only to express, that the punishment of loss of hand should not be redeemed by any fine whatsoever, and therefore both *reolþne* and *golbe* may be considered as equally expletive^l.

The conclusions which have been drawn from the non-appearance of any of these Coins, Mr. Clarke pronounces to be utterly inconsistent with the evidence of so many Laws, Edicts, and Historians, and does not allow that circumstance to have any weight in the argument^m.

It has however received considerable accession of strength since his time, and is now, though certainly not conclusive, yet a strong ground of suspicion

^k Connexion, p. 353.

^l The words of the Law are — *þ he hig mib nanon ƿingon ne gebroge. ne mib golbe ne mib reolþne* : . Wilkins, p. 134.

^m Connexion, p. 297.

against the existence of Saxon Gold Coins. Of their Silver and Brass Money more than 2000 varieties are known to exist. They have been found in large numbers together, as if hidden for the purpose of preservation in troublesome times, when, if the concealer had been master of any Gold Coins, there cannot be a doubt but they also would have been hidden.

Mr. Clarke thinks that the *rcill* of the Saxons, and the *Solidus* of the Conqueror, were Gold Coins. This he attempts to prove by arguments similar to those by which he endeavoured to shew that the *Mancus* was an actual Coin ⁿ. He is confident that they never could have been Silver Coins on account of their great weight ^o.

In confirmation of this opinion he says, "Marculf, who lived in the time of the Merovingian Princes, mentions this *Solidus* in such a manner as might alone determine the dispute [*i. e.* whether it were a Coin.] He was a man of business, and drew up his forms of grants, purchases, and conveyances for common use. One of them is drawn up in these words: 'Dono tibi in auro, vel argento, Solidos Francos tantos.' Can this passage have any other import but this — that these Frank *Solidi* might be paid in Gold or Silver at discretion? And if in Gold, they were certainly real Coins." ^p But may it not be asked, with equal propriety, how does this passage prove the *Solidus* to be a Gold Coin rather

ⁿ Connexion, p. 329, &c.

^o Yet at p. 202 he fancies that he has detected Saxon Shillings under the disguise of the Heavy Groats of Edward I., which are mentioned by Folkes in his Table of English Silver Coins, p. 8.

^p Connexion, p. 343.

than a Silver one? (which Mr. Clarke has declared above it could not be); or does it not show that the value of so many Solidi might be paid in either Gold or Silver?

The custom of striking Gold at the Mint Mr. Clarke thinks was discontinued soon after the Norman Conquest, if it continued until that time, of which he is doubtful. His reasons are, that "the Exchange between Gold and Silver, in the reigns immediately following William Rufus, was much altered, and from twelve (as it was in great part of the Saxon times) came down as low as nine to one, the lowest regular Exchange that was ever known in Europe; and this, no doubt, was not on a sudden, but by degrees. But as none of our old Histories and Records mention any Coins, or any Money of Account, which passed in this proportion, we have reason to conclude, that the custom of striking Gold Coins was discontinued at the Mint; and that the Shilling of twelve Pence was nothing more than a method of computing Money, till it appeared in another form under Henry VII.; and that all former Gold Coins, whether foreign or domestick, were not any longer considered as a species payable by Tale, but by weight only. For this was the regular and constant method of accounting for Gold in the Exchequer."¹

In proof of this he quotes Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 277, and the Dialogue de Scaccario, lib. II. cap. 26; and observes that the Author of the latter work "was one of the Barons of the Exchequer from A. D. 1165 to 1199, and perfectly well

¹ Connexion, p. 372.

acquainted with the practice of that Court. He mentions no other way of paying Gold, but by Weight only."

Now as paying Money by Weight is by Mr. Clarke determined to be a sufficient proof that it is no nominal estimate^r, and as some of the instances, in the pages above referred to by him, specify the Mark, it must in course, according to his *dictum*, be an actual Coin. But, in truth, the references in Madox prove nothing more than this — that in the reign of Stephen and Henry II. Gold was so scarce that payments into the Exchequer, which were stated to be in that metal, were compensated by a proportional value of Silver. If Mr. Clarke had maturely considered this fact, he might perhaps have found some reason to conclude that the payments by Weight, in Saxon times, on which he has laid so much stress, might possibly have been of the same nature.

Whilst Mr. Clarke decides that all payments, &c. wherein Mancuses are mentioned (and they are very numerous) were made with actual Coins, Dr. Pegge states his opinion of the quantity of Saxon Gold Money in much more moderate terms. He says that "the Saxons here in England probably had not much Gold current amongst them, their payments in that metal, when large, being otherwise regulated; yet this hinders not, but a single Gold Piece struck by way of Medal may have come down to us."^s . . . "It begins now to appear to me, that the Saxons actually struck some Gold, though perhaps

^r Connexion, p. 291.

^s Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains, p. 17.

not much.”^t He afterwards hints a suspicion that the Gold Coins might, like the Stycas, be confined to the Northumbrian Kingdom, which might be the reason of their great rarity^u.

His first supposition appears to be perfectly done away by the second, for in the latter it cannot, I presume, be doubted that he intends current Gold Coins. If his *suspicion* be well founded, there must have been some peculiarity, now unknown, in the state of the Northumbrian Kingdom, which could have induced the necessity of striking there only Coins both of the highest and lowest denomination then in use.

But when Dr. Pegge proceeds to the consideration of a Gold Coin published by him in one of those Dissertations referred to above, he rises in his tone, and pronounces it to be “*undoubtedly an Anglo-Saxon, of the Northumbrian Kingdom, being struck at York, in the beginning of the tenth Century; and perhaps is a Coin, but this I speak (says he) with diffidence, of the Danish King Sihtric.*” His chief arguments to prove this are, the Cypher on the Reverse, which he interprets to mean York, and the circumstance of the piece having been found at Hull, which is likewise within that Kingdom. He calls it a Gold Penny, and gives the weight of it, nineteen Grains Troy, a weight which he thinks perfectly agrees with the period to which he assigns it, *i. e.* the tenth Century; because the Silver Money of King

^t Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains, p. 26.

^u Id. Preface, p. x.; and in his account of a Gold Penny he refers it to the Northumbrian Kingdom, “where only, so far as yet appears, the Anglo-Saxons coined Gold.” p. 25.

Edmund and King Edred run thereabouts, and he must believe that the Gold Money was adjusted exactly to the Silver as to weight, whatever difference there was as to the value of the two metals. He likewise thinks that, about that time, the Mint-Masters began in England to desist from putting their own names only, without the King's, on the Specie; as no example of it had occurred later than the middle of the tenth Century ^w.

The whole evidence, which Dr. Pegge has collected to prove that this Coin belongs in any way to Britain, is, to say the best of it, extremely inconclusive. In the Cypher he discovers only the letters C. I. and E.; but there is evidently an R at the bottom of what he conceives to be a ligature only, but which is, as probably, the uniting stroke that forms the two upright ones into an M. The I also, as he calls it, is unquestionably an L. If these letters absolutely exist upon the Coin, as they appear in his engraving of it, his supposition that it was struck at York must fall to the ground; nor can the circumstance of its being found at Hull, on which he appears to lay considerable stress, be of any avail to support the argument.

The weight of the contemporary Silver Coins of Eadmund and Eadred, which he conceives to prove that this Gold Piece was struck in conformity with them, is very incorrectly and loosely stated by him. He says that they run about nineteen Grains; but in truth the Pennies of Eadmund vary from $17\frac{7}{10}$ to $24\frac{4}{10}$ Grains Troy; and those of Eadred from $16\frac{6}{10}$ to $24\frac{3}{10}$.

^w Dissertations as above, p. 24.

From the manner in which he speaks of the Mint-Masters having desisted from putting their own names only, without the King's, on the Money, it is evident that he believed such practice to have existed generally, at some certain period, in this Kingdom. In this, however, he unquestionably deceived himself. No instance of it, either contemporary, or nearly so, is, as I believe, to be found; for it appears only on the Coins of Ecgberht King of Kent. On the Coins of Offa the Moneyer's name is sometimes placed upon the Obverse, but the King's name is never, in that case, omitted on the Reverse. From this circumstance of the Moneyer's name standing alone it seems probable that the Coin in question is referrible to that class which is described by Le Blanc^x as having only the name of the Moneyer, without that of the Monarch, although they bore his image, with the Diadem and Crown; and may, therefore, be conjectured to be of French origin.

Dr. Pegge's arguments appear to have been considered as so very feeble by his Friend and Coadjutor in the Controversy respecting Saxon Gold, that he has endeavoured to strengthen them by the following considerations: "By its appearance, and the place where it was found, no Country can have a fairer claim to it than our own. In that great variety of Reverses, which we meet with upon the French Aurei, there is not one that resembles this. There is no such name as Leto among all the Monétaires recorded on their Coins; no such monogram upon any of those which Messieurs Bouteroue and

^x *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, p. 79.

Le Blanc have published. The Cyphers upon their Coins, as far as I have observed, relate only to Arles, Lyons, Marseilles, Metz, Rheims, Tulle, and Vienne. Mr. Pegge, therefore, has a right to keep possession of this Coin, as one of the ancient Aurei of this Kingdom.”

If by *its appearance* Mr. Clarke intended a resemblance in any degree whatever to acknowledged Anglo-Saxon Coins, and no other meaning will answer his purpose, he should have pointed out in what particular that resemblance consists; for unless the Coin be viewed through the medium of a pre-conceived hypothesis, it will be impossible to trace such a likeness as will warrant his conclusion. His argument, which is drawn from the place where it was found, will, if admitted to its fullest extent, prove that Coins, which are incontestably the produce of foreign Mints, were struck in our own.

The great variety of Reverses which are found upon the French Aurei, do authorize the supposition that possibly some others may exist besides those which have been noticed by Bouteroue and Le Blanc.

If his argument, derived from the non-appearance of *Leto* as a Moneyer, upon the French Aurei, be of force to his reasoning, how powerful must the statement be, that in more than two thousand varieties of Anglo-Saxon Coins that name is not to be found. To this may be added, that the letter *o* is of very rare occurrence as the termination of a Saxon name, not more than two or three appearing amongst the

numerous Moneyers, and only seven or eight in the Saxon Chronicle, and not one in Verstegan's Etymologies of the Saxon Proper Names; whilst, on the other hand, it appears from Le Blanc to have formed a very common conclusion of the names upon those Coins which, like this Piece of Dr. Pegge's, bear the signature of the Moneyer only^z.

If these arguments against Mr. Clarke's mode of reasoning should not be held conclusive, there still remains one which is decisive, at least against himself. He says that the Coin is a Danish Ora^a; now no such name appears in the Enumeration by Archbishop Ælfric; and therefore, according to Mr. Clarke, no such Coin could have been in existence at the time that Enumeration was made, which must have been nearly contemporary with the period which is assigned for the striking of this Piece.

From the foregoing considerations it should seem that the arguments which have hitherto been adduced to prove the Coinage of Gold by the Saxons, in England, are by no means conclusive; because the instances, quoted in support of them, are equally applicable to Money of Account. The actual appearance, therefore, of Gold Coins, indubitably Saxon, will be required to establish the fact. If they were ever so numerous as they are supposed to have been by Mr. Clarke, it is scarcely possible but that some of them must have been discovered, together with the numerous varieties now known of the Silver Money of that people; and consequently the

^z *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, Plates I. II. III. and IV. p. 78.

^a *Connexion*, p. 371.

old adage, which allows the inference of non-existence from non-appearance, is fairly applicable to this case.

I now proceed to describe the different Coins, and also the various Money of Account, which were in use among the Anglo-Saxons.

The most antient of the former was the SCEATTA.

As this term is purely Saxon, and occurs in the sense of Money, or Payment, in general ^b, it seems probable that it was the first species which was coined by the Saxons; and this idea agrees well with the supposition that the Sceattæ, without the Christian Symbol, were in use before their arrival in Britain. Its derivation, from *sceat*, a part or portion, has led to the conclusion that it was originally a certain division of uncoined metal; but this conclusion is, as I believe, founded upon conjecture alone,

The weight of those which have been discovered is as various as it might be concluded to be from the rudeness of the workmanship, and reaches from seven Grains and an half Troy to twenty and upwards. These two extremes, however, are of rare occurrence, and the most common weight is from 15 to 18 or 19 Grains ^c.

Its value is stated in the Laws of Æthelstan,

^b See a variety of instances in Lye's Dict. Saxon. It is used in this sense in the Laws of Æthilberht King of Kent, who began to reign A. 560. [Wilkins, p. 7.] About 400 years afterwards the term *mynet* first appears in the Saxon Laws of Æthelstan, where, however, the more antient word is also used. [Id. pp. 59, 64.]

^c See the weights which are given in the Description of the Plates.

(who reigned from A. D. 924 to 940), where 30,000 Sceattæ are said to be equal to 120 Pounds^d. But 30,000 Pennies would make 125 Pounds; therefore the Sceatta fell short of the Penny by one twenty-fifth part. This very trifling difference in the weight of the two Coins has induced some Antiquaries to assert that they were only two different names for the same thing^e. But this is scarcely reconcilable with the frequent occurrence of the penny in those very Laws, where the value of the Sceatta is stated. It is remarkable that the Sceatta of this value is to be found in no other part of the Saxon Laws than in the passage referred to above, and in the *Judicia Civitatis London*, which were likewise made in the reign of Æthelstan, where that passage is copied *verbatim*^f; that the fine which is regulated by those Coins is stated to be according to the Laws of the Mercians; that the same fine was in Mid-England estimated by Thrymsæ, and, unless Lambard, Brompton, and Wilkins be incorrect, greatly exceeded in value that which was imposed in Mercia^g. From whence it should seem that the Sceattæ, above-mentioned, or at least that mode of valuing them, was peculiar to the Mercian Kingdom.

^d Wilkins, p. 64.

^e Clarke's Connexion, p. 431.

^f Wilkins, p. 72.

^g This is proved by Mr. Clarke from the following considerations: — The fine for cutting off a thumb was xx Shillings, for a thumb nail iii Shillings. If the toes were mutilated in the same manner, the penalty was just one half less. The Law says, *pro digitis pedis dimidium pretii sicut de digitis manus datum est*. Thus, for cutting off the great toe the fine was x Shillings; for the great toe nail xxx Sceattas; i. e. by the proportion given, one Shilling and a half, and consequently twenty Sceattas to a Shilling. Connexion, p. 429.

Beside this Sceatta there appears to have been another, which was worth no more than one fourth of a Penny. It occurs only in the Laws of Æthilberht King of Kent, who reigned from 561 to 616; but of what metal it was composed, or any other particulars concerning it, we are perfectly ignorant.

Whatever might have been the precise value of the Sceatta, it was undoubtedly the smallest Coin known amongst the Saxons at the latter end of the seventh century, as appears from its forming part of a Proverb, whose meaning was from the least even unto the greatest — *ne 8ceat ne 8cilling*^h.

Lambard (in the Glossary which he has given at the end of his Edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, and which was copied from an antient MS. in St. Augustin's, Canterbury) says, "*Scata vocabulum a Saxonice 8ceatta effictum. Est autem 8ceatta ingens argenti summa, quippe quæ argenti quinque millia contineat.*"ⁱ

For this mode of computation no authority is quoted, nor do I believe that any such can be found.

In point of antiquity the PENNY succeeds.

I have not been able to ascertain the time when this term was first introduced; but it appears in the Laws of Ina King of the West Saxons, who began to reign in 688. It is written in various ways; as, Peneg, Penig, Peninc, Pening, Penincg, Penning, and Pending; and the etymologies of it are nearly as numerous as the modes of spelling.

^h Lye, quoting Cædmon, 47. 3. Cædmon flourished, according to Tanner, in 670.

ⁱ Sub voce Scata.

By some it is derived from *pendo*, to weigh ^k.

By others, from "*punian*, to beat or knock, which may be deemed a term applied to metal coined, similar to the Latin *cudere*." ^l

Minsheu derives it from *πεινία*, *paupertas*; ut sit subsidium της πεινίας, *paupertatis* ^m.

The Saxon Dictionaries of Somner and Lye do not give any derivation of the term; but the latter Author, in his Edition of Junius's Etymologicum Anglicanum, says, "Martinius suspicatur Teut. penninc esse a *pendo*, i. e. solvo, numero. Alii censent esse ex *πένεσθαι*, parare, agere, satagere quòd non nisi summo cum labore comparentur nummi, vel a *πεινία*, *paupertas*; quòd vilioris hujus monetæ beneficio mendicantium egestati expeditius promptiusque succurratur. — Isl. peningur pecuniam significat. Wachterus non malè derivat à Celt. pen, caput, quo denarii insigniti fuerunt." ⁿ

Skinner thinks it not absurd to derive it from the Latin *pecunia* ^o.

Of all these derivations, that from *pendo* appears to be the most consonant to reason; the others are

^k German, Pfenning. Danish, Pending. Modern Saxons, Peninch; antient, Penig, Pening. At this time, Penny, à *pendo*, to weigh. Wilkins, Gloss. to Ang. Sax. Laws. He is followed by Mr. Clarke, Connexion, p. 390; with whom Mr. Whitaker agrees, History of Manchester, vol. II. p. 338.

^l Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 133. He likewise quotes, from Schilter, a similar etymology from another language: "Pœnings nomine Pecunia tantum numerata significat, a *pāna*, quod est *cudere*, *signare*." Gloss. Teut. p. 657.

^m Guide to Tongues, sub voce.

ⁿ Sub voce.

^o Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce in Etymolog. General.

either fanciful or forced. If that etymology be admitted, it will seem probable that the Penny was not known to the Saxons before their arrival in Britain, but was adopted, together with its name, at the same time that *mýnet*, from *moneta*, was introduced.

By the term Penny it is held that the Saxons intended a species of Money, of which 240 were made out of a Pound of Silver. This number gives 24 Grains for each Coin, and makes the Pound equal to 5760 Grains. But this calculation is founded only upon the supposition that the Pound Tower was the old Saxon Money Pound (a supposition which, however, is now generally admitted), and that the old Saxon Penny weighed, as the first Norman Pennies did, a Pennyweight, for no documents have yet been discovered from whence the precise weight of this Saxon Coin can be deduced. In Domesday Book, where so many payments in the time of Edward the Confessor are stated, it is remarkable that not one instance occurs in which the Saxon Pennies are said to be twenty in the Ounce, although the passages in which that proportion of the Norman Penny appears are innumerable.

It has been supposed that the Saxons had also another Penny of inferior weight, and the proofs of its existence are brought from the Laws of Ælfred, and of William the First^p. In the former^q the words *mæppa peninga* occur, which, for this purpose, are translated larger Pennies, but, with at least

^p Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 127.

^q Wilkins, p. 35.

equal propriety, might have been rendered pure, that is, good, or, as it would now be called, lawful Money^r.

In the latter Laws, as given by Ingulphus, are found *bener* deners, or, according to Mr. Turner, *better* Pennies^s. But it must be observed that the term *bener* is omitted in every other edition of those Laws^t; that it does not occur in the sense of better in any Dictionary or Glossary; and that meilleur is actually used by Ingulphus to express such meaning, in the 29th Chapter of those very Laws of William I. Possibly the word may be nothing more than the following one, dener, mis-spelled.

“The legal weight of the Penny continued the same invariably through the whole period of the Saxon Government. It was always the 240th part of their Pound. Their Laws, from the first mention of it to the last, give it this uniform valuation.”^u

Large sums were, not unfrequently, computed by

^r It is so translated by Lye: *Qib' p' punbun mæppa peninga. Cum quinque libris purorum denariorum, i. e. bonæ monetæ; LL. Pol. Ælf. 3. Saxon. Dict. sub. voce Mæpa.*

Wilkins also renders it by *bonæ*, p. 35.

Lambard by *Merciorum*, p. 23. Thus translating *mæpcna*, which he puts in the margin, instead of the word in the text.

The propriety of translating this word by the term *pure* appears from these passages in Du Frene's Glossary: “De denariis, si mero sunt argento, et pleniter pensantes.” Voce Denarii Meri. —“Ne aliquis bonum denarium, id est, Merum et bene pensantem rejicere audeat.” —“Denarii meri & bene pensantes: quibus opponuntur mixti, id est, alia viliora materia. Ita aurum argenti miscere vetitum; cui perinde opponitur aurum merum.” Voce Meri Denarii. The instances are taken from Edictum Pistense.

^s History of Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 135.

^t Namely, those by Selden, Lambard, and Wilkins.

^u Clarke's Connexion, p. 425.

Pennies alone. In one instance, three thousand Pennies occur; in another, three hundred and eighty-five; and in a third, one thousand four hundred and fifty, in the purchase of lands ^w.

The half of this Penny was called *Halfpence*^x, or *Halpenige*^y, and was likewise coined of Silver, as was probably the *Feorðling* or *Feorðung*, the fourth part, or *Farthing*^z.

Both these Coins are mentioned in the Saxon Gospels.

Besides these divisions of the Penny, there seems to have been another, by which it was parted into three. In the Laws of Ælfred a fine is stated at *ryx peningas*, *7 ryx scell*. *7 ryxtig scell*. *7 ðriððan ðæle peninger* : ^a and the use of this fractional part of a Penny was continued as late as the reign of King Henry I., in whose Laws the following sum occurs: "LXVI sol. & VI den. & trientem unius den." ^b

^w Turner's Hist. of the Ang. Saxons, vol. II. p. 126, referring to MS Charters of the late Mr. Astle, No 7, No 23, No 28. He has not given the dates of these payments.

^x Hickes's Thesaurus. *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 109.

^y Lye sub voce; where he quotes Luke, xii. 6, the same passage which is referred to by Hickes as above.

^z Lye, sub voce. Mr. Turner, speaking of the Halfpenny and Farthing, says, "We cannot doubt that these were Copper Monies." Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 136. Mr. Turner probably did not recollect, or, possibly, he never saw, an engraving of a Saxon Halfpenny of Edward the Elder, which was given in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1796. I discovered that Coin in the Bodleian Collection; and another of the same Monarch is now in the British Museum. They are both engraven in Plate XVII. Nos 31 and 32.

^a Wilkins, p. 46.

^b Id. p. 281. It does not appear of what metal these Coins were formed.

It is difficult to conceive how these sums could be paid, if there were no Coins existing by which the Penny could be divided into three parts.

But even so small a division as one fourth of a Penny could not be sufficiently minute to answer the common purposes of exchange, at a time when most of the necessary articles of life were to be purchased at prices so far beneath what is now considered to be their value; when, for instance, in the reign of *Æthelstan*, an ox was sold for thirty Pennies^c, and a sheep for one Shilling^d. They therefore coined brass Money, denominated *Stycas*, two of which were equal to one Farthing. The name is derived, by Lye, from *Sticce*, *Stycce*, *minuta pars*, because this Money was of all other the smallest^e.

But the propriety of this derivation may be questioned, as the *Styca* was in weight not inferior to the common sized Pennies; and *minuta pars* cannot be well applied to express value distinct from magnitude^f. It must be acknowledged, however, in confirmation of his etymology, that these Coins seem to be the same as that which occurs in *Dooms-day Book*, under the term *minuta*^g, from whence comes our mite.

All of this kind yet discovered are from the Mints of the Northumbrian Kings, or of the Archbishops of York. But Mr. Clarke observes, that "the Saxon Gospels seem to be a sufficient evidence that these Coins were struck in other parts of the island.

^c *Judicia Civit. London.* Wilkins, p. 68.

^d *Id.* p. 66.

^e *Sub voce Sticce.*

^f I, however, confess myself unable to give a better etymology.

^g Vol. I. folio 268. I have not discovered it in any other part of that record.

We cannot well suppose that they speak a provincial language only, or that this version was made in that kingdom. The two Mites which make a Farthing, Mark, xii. 42, are there translated, *τρεγεν ρτυcas*, *ῥιγ*, *ρεορδunz peninger*. The original is, *λεπτά δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδραντης.*"^h

To this conjecture, however plausible it may appear, is to be opposed that argument which Mr. Clarke treats so lightly, but to which the persevering search of modern Medalists has, since the time he wrote, given great weight and importance; I mean the non-appearance of *Stycas* which can be appropriated to any other kingdom of the Heptarchy.

In the year 1808, a large quantity was turned up, by a plough, in the parish of Kirk Oswald, in Cumberland. They were of the following Kings and Archbishops :

Kings.		Archbishops.	
Eanred	- - - 99	Eanbald, with title	1
Ethelred	- - - 350	Vigmund	- - 58
Redulf	- - - 14	Vulfhere	- - 5
Osbercht	- - - 15		

making in the whole 542ⁱ. As in so large a number no new names either of Monarchs or of Archbishops were found, it was concluded by some that these Coins were struck by no other persons; but this conclusion was proved to be erroneous by the discovery of a *Styca* with the name of *Ecgrith*, in the year 1813^k. It is highly probable that the

^h Connexion, p. 434.

ⁱ From the information of Mr. Richard Miles.

^k See Appendix, Plate XXVIII, and the explanation.

Stycas circulated all over the island, as they have been found in various parts of it, and must have been of the last necessity in carrying on the smaller exchanges of property.

All these which have been enumerated, namely, the Sceatta, Penny, Halfpenny, Farthing, and Styca, are acknowledged, by every Antiquary who has written upon the subject, to be real Coins; and indeed every one of them, except the Farthing, is to be found in different Cabinets. But, besides these, the Saxons had other Monies, or rather denominations of Monies, the exact nature of which is by no means determined; such as the Mancus, the Mark, the Shilling, the Thrimsa, and the Ora, each of which we shall consider separately.

The term MANCUS, or, as it was written by the Saxons, Mancor, Mancr, Mancur, and Mancure, is supposed to have been derived from Italy, and to be formed from the Latin manu cusum, by which it was intended to express coined Money, as the word cusus could have no reference to simple weight. If this supposition be correct (and the connexion which existed between that country and England, after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, is sufficient to warrant it), it can scarcely be supposed that the Coins themselves were not imported as well as the name, and became current amongst the Saxons, in the same manner as they appear to have circulated through most of the other nations of Europe. This is much more probable than the opinion that such Coins were struck in the Anglo-Saxon Mints, of which no evidence has yet been discovered.

It should seem, however, that this species of Money soon fell into disuse, whilst the name only was retained, and applied to a certain weight. That this was the case may be concluded from the occurrence, at an early period, of Mancuses of Silver as well as of Gold; for it never was pretended that a Silver Coin existed under that denomination, even by those who have been the most strenuous advocates for the Golden Mancus of the Saxons. When therefore we find, in the ninth century, Mancuses of Silver described precisely in the same manner as those of Gold^l, we must either consider the Silver Mancus as a Coin, which it is allowed on all hands that it never was, or we must admit that by the Mancus of Gold a certain weight only was intended at that time. In like manner, Marka Aurim^m, and Marka Argentiⁿ, occur in Domesday Book, neither of which was ever suspected to be a Coin. The term Mancus is likewise applied where a Coin of that name could not possibly have been meant, that is, where it is clearly intended to express a certain quantity of known current Money. By Mancusa Denariorum^o it is impossible to understand any thing more than a determinate number of Pennies.

The value which was expressed by the Mancus has been recorded by Archbishop Ælfric, who wrote about the end of the tenth century. It was then equal to thirty Pennies, or six Shillings^p, at which

^l Thorn, sub anno 838. col. 1776. Id. anno 861, col. 1778.

^m Vol. I. folio 32.

ⁿ Vol. I. folio 10 b.

^o Du Fresne's Glossary, Mancusa, quoting Spelman, whose reference is to Hoveden, an. 851, p. 415.

^p See Ælfric's Saxon Grammar at the end of Somner's Saxon Dictionary, p. 52.

rate it continued to be estimated in the laws of Henry I.^q

By a strange mistake (which probably originated in an over attention to similarity of name), some Antiquaries have concluded that the Mancus and the Mark were the same. Though this opinion bear the sanction of names the most highly respectable^r, yet that it is erroneous will be evident from a comparison of the different sums which were expressed by those terms.

The MARK was a Danish mode of computation, and was probably introduced into this Kingdom in the reign of Aelfred, as it appears for the first time in the League between that Monarch and Guthrun the Danish King, which took place about the year 878^s.

The Marks there mentioned are of Gold^t, but the proportional value of that metal to Silver in Saxon times does, I believe, nowhere appear. The Silver Mark was, early in the tenth century, estimated at one hundred Pennies^u; but in the year 1194 at one hundred and sixty^w. I have not been able to discover at what precise period this alteration

^q Wilkins, p. 265.

^r Of this opinion were Camden, Somner, Spelman, Lambard, Watts, Fleetwood, Hickes, Junius, Lye, Wilkins, Wise, Bishop Nicolson, and others.

^s Wilkins, p. 47. Its name is supposed to mean a limited quantity, from Mark, a boundary.

^t Id. *ibid*. These Marks are said to be *apobener golber*, which Lambard and Wilkins render *fusilis auri*, but which should rather have been translated *decocti*, i. e. *puri*, *auri*.

^u Wilkins, p. 51.

^w Mat. Paris, *Vitæ Abbatum Sanct. Albani*, p. 1042.

took place, but it was probably soon after the arrival of William I. in England, when the Norman Shilling of twelve Pence was introduced. This valuation of the Mark at one hundred and sixty Pence, or thirteen Shillings and four Pence, is continued to this day, in those payments which are regulated by that denomination of Money, such as legal fines, &c.

So long as the Mancus and the Mark were thought to be the same, they were supposed to be real Money; but, since the discovery that they were totally distinct from each other, the latter has, as I believe, been universally allowed to be only a weight.

The SCILL or SCILLING appears at a very early period in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, some fines being regulated by it in the reign of Ethelberht, who was King of Kent from about the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh.

This term is of very doubtful derivation. Lye, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, considers it as a Saxon word, meaning either Money in general, or a peculiar Coin. Junius says it is clearly from the Teutonic scellan, to sound, "*ut proprie sit nummus tiniens sono integri solidique argenti.*" Mr. Turner brings it from the Saxon *rcylan*, to divide, or from *rccale*, a scale; and from thence concludes that it meant so much Silver cut off, as in China, and that it was a certain quantity of uncoined metal ^x.

Somner seems to make its primary signification Lunula, which he renders a Gimmel ^y. But Mr.

^x Hist. of Ang. Saxons, vol. II. p. 139.

^y Saxon Dictionary, sub voce Scill.

Clarke, in order to confirm his idea that the Saxon Money terms imitated the Roman, derives it from the Latin Sicilicus, "which signified in that language a quarter of an ounce, or the forty-eighth part of a Roman Pound. From Sicilicus," he says, "came Sicihic, Scillic, Scilling, for so the Saxons always wrote it." ^z The whole of this supposition, that the Saxons borrowed from the Romans a Coin which was the forty-eighth part of a Pound, appears to have no other foundation than an accidental coincidence of proportion; for, as the Roman and Saxon Money Pounds were different from each other, it is impossible that Coins which formed equal parts of those Pounds, should have any other similarity than that which arose from their bearing the same proportion to the integer of which they were divisions.

The same arguments which have been adduced to prove that the Mancus was a real Coin, have been applied to the Scilling ^a. As they are liable to the same objection of being equally applicable to Money of Account, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

By this term the Saxons at one time intended the number of five Pennies, and at a subsequent period no more than four, but the date of this diminution of number is not known; it, however, had certainly taken place before the promulgation of the *Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ*, which was prior to the middle

^z Connexion, p. 120. Mr. Clarke's theory respecting Saxon Money consists of two parts, which can scarcely be reconciled to each other. He is of opinion that they borrowed their Money Pound from the Greeks, and their nummery language from the Romans.

^a See Clarke's Connexion.

of the tenth century, for a Subsidy which is there rated at four Pennies is in the same paragraph called a Scilling^b. It is difficult to reconcile this with Archbishop Ælfric's valuation of the Shilling at five Pennies^c, which must have been made at the latter end of that century^d, unless we are disposed to admit that two Coins of the same denomination, but of different current value, were permitted to circulate together. This, absurd as the practice may appear, and contradictory to all true principles of Coinage, does yet seem to have been the case; for two distinct estimates of the Scilling occur, by Thrymsas, which can be reconciled only by the supposition of this anomaly^e. When we descend to more enlightened times, as they proudly style themselves, we shall be somewhat surprized to find similar practices prevailing, even in the 18th century.

The Shilling of four Pence appears to have continued during the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period; for when William I. adopted and confirmed the Laws of Edward the Confessor, he recognized the English Shilling to be equal to four Pennies^f, and as no notice is taken by him of the Shilling at five Pennies, it probably had fallen into disuse.

From some passages which have been referred to by Mr. Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, it appears that computations by Shillings of twelve Pence were not unusual amongst them. "Ælfric,

^b Wilkins, p. 66.

^c Ang. Sax. Grammar, p. 52.

^d Vide Moresi Comment. de Ælfrico, p. 10.

^e Wilkins, p. 71.

^f Wilkins, p. 221. The payments in Domesday Book; which are stated at five pence, were, it should seem, originally fixed by the Saxon Shilling of that value.

in his translation of Exodus, c. xxi. v. 10, adds of his own authority, they are twelve Scyllinga of twelve Pennies; and in the Monies mentioned in the Historia Eliensis, edited by Gale, we find numerous passages which ascertain that a Pound consisted of twenty Shillings. I will refer to a few: Three hides were sold by a Lady to an Abbot for a hundred Shillings each. The owner is afterwards said to have come to receive the fifteen Pounds. When seven Pounds and an half only had been paid, the Ealdorman asked the Abbot to give the Lady more of her purchase money. At his request, the Abbot gave thirty Shillings more. Thus, it is added, he paid her nine Pounds. On another occasion, the Money agreed for was thirty Pounds. One hundred Shillings were received, and twenty-five Pounds were declared to remain due." ^g

In order to do away the argument which had been drawn from the non-appearance of any Saxon Shillings, Mr. Clarke supposed that he had discovered them in those heavy Coins which in Folkes's Table are referred to the age of Edward I.^h Their weights, according to Mr. Clarke, are 92, 116, or 138 Grains Troy. "It is scarcely possible," says he, "to suppose that the pieces so much above weight were cut by his Moneyers for the Groats of that reign: *they were old Coins new minted*: the two first were most probably Saxon Shillings; for that Shilling at five Pence (supposing no diminution at all in the Tower Pound) would weigh $112\frac{1}{2}$ Troy

^g Vol. II. p. 126, referring to Gale, X Script. pp. 472 and 478.

^h Table of English Silver Coins, p. 8.

Grains; and at four Pence, about 92 or 93 Grains; for they would then strike about 57 or 58 in the Pound. Allowing something of the same inequality in the weight of their Shillings that we find in their Pennies, these are just such Coins as, from the rude and careless execution of that age, might reasonably be expected.”ⁱ

Mr. Clarke’s eagerness to confirm his hypothesis has caused him to overlook some circumstances in Mr. Folkes’s statement, which could not be easily compelled to conformity with his supposition. He has omitted to state that the greater part of these Coins, which Mr. Folkes had weighed, were from 80 to 85 Troy Grains, and he has forgotten to account in any way for that which he himself states, from Folkes, to have weighed 138 Troy Grains. Now the weights of 80 or 85 Grains are as incompatible with his supposition as that of 138 can be; and if it be *scarcely possible* to suppose that such unequal pieces could be cut by the Moneyers of Edward I. for Groats, it seems *as little possible* to believe that they would re-strike such various weights for the same purpose. The probability is, that they were pattern pieces of a Coin, which was never struck for circulation.

The next in valuation to the Scilling was the THRIMSA, a term probably derived from the Saxon *Þry* or *Ðri*, three^k. It appears to have been equal

ⁱ Connexion, p. 202.

^k Somner derives it from *Þrum*, quod ternos significat. Wilkins, a *Þreo*, quod tria sonat. Hickes, a *tremissæ*; and thinks it contained four Pennies of the Gold Shilling, and one third of the Silver Shilling. Vide Dissertat. Epist. p. 211, & Præfat. p. xli.

to three fifths of the Shilling of five Pence, and to nearly three fourths when that Coin was reduced to four Pennies; and was therefore always considered as equivalent to three Pennies. In the reign of Aethelstan, in the tenth century, both these estimates are to be found, as has been before observed in the account of the Scilling.

Mr. Somner first remarked that the Thanes' Weregild was by the Angli valued at 2000 Thrim-sas, and by the Mercians at 1200 Shillings; and, as he took it for granted that the same sum was intended by both these fines, he concluded that the Thrimsa must be three fifths of the Shilling which contained five Pennies, and consequently was in value three Pennies¹. That the Thrimsa was still estimated at the same number of Pennies after the Shilling had been reduced one fifth, was discovered by Mr. Clarke, from the fine imposed for the murder of a peasant. This is said to be 266 Thrimsas, which, by the Mercian Law, made 200 Shillings. Now 200 are to 266 as 3 is to 4, wanting only two thirds of a three Pence^m.

But it must be observed that the above calculations are founded upon a presumed similarity in the fines of the Angli and the Mercians. In the same Law of Aethelstan, however, the King's Weregild is first stated at 30,000 Thrymsæⁿ, and afterwards it is said to be 30,000 Sceattæ, according to the Mercian Law^o. If this be correct, one of two things must necessarily follow: either that the Thrymsæ

¹ Glossary to Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*.

^m Connexion, p. 232.

ⁿ Wilkins, p. 71.

^o Wilkins, p. 72.

and Sceattæ were equivalent, or that the Mercian Fines were not quite one third of those imposed by the Angli; for the Law states, that the 30,000 Sceattæ make 120 Pounds, but 30,000 Thrymsæ would be 375 Pounds. It appears to be probable that the word ꝥceattæ, in Wilkins's seventy-second page, should be corrected to ðrýmꝥæ.

The arguments which are supposed to prove that the Thrimsa was a real Coin, are the same as those which have been applied, for that purpose, to the Mancus and the Scilling.

The last of these Monies of Account is the ORA; a term generally conceived to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon ope, ore or metal^p; but which Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Whitaker following him, bring from a corruption of the Roman Aureus^q.

But, whatever be its etymology, it seems to have been brought into this Island by the Danes; at least the first mention of it occurs in the League between Eadweard the Elder and Guthrun the Danish Monarch^r. The exact date of this Treaty does not appear, but it must have been ratified between the years 901 and 924, to which period it is limited by the extent of the reign of Eadweard.

In this League the Fines imposed upon the English and the Danes are frequently stated in different modes; which seems to show that those modes of payment which are appropriated to the Danes had not then been generally adopted by the English. Thus, for instance, in the third Section the Eng-

^p By Lambard, Somner, Lye, Wilkins, &c.

^q Connexion, p. 311. History of Manchester, II. p. 338.

^r Wilkins, p. 51.

lishman is to pay 30 Shillings, and the Dane a Mark and a half^a; and in the seventh Section, when the former forfeits the same number of Shillings, the latter is fined 12 Oras^t; and it is observable that the Danish Fines are never estimated by Shillings, whilst those which are laid upon the English are so invariably.

The Danes used this term both as a denomination of Money and also as a weight. According to Bircherod, the Money Ora antiently was reckoned at fifteen Pennies, so that two of them were equal to two Shillings and a half; but the Ora as a Weight was one third more than the Money Ora^u.

In the Laws of Aethelred, as given by Bromton, the Commercial Ora appears to have been one fifteenth of the Pound Weight^w; and from Domesday Book we learn that the Money Ora contained twenty Pennies^x.

The invariable statement of 20 Pennies to the Ora, in that Record, was probably intended to distinguish the Ora, by which all rents, &c. to the Crown were to be paid, from another Ora, which was in value no more than 16 Pennies. Spelman says that such a valuation of the Ora was known to the Saxons, and gives as his authority *Æ. Miscel.* *γ*, which I am unable to explain, nor have I met with any instance of that kind of estimate in Saxon times.

After the Norman Conquest the Ora of 16 Pen-

^a Wilkins, p. 51.

^t Id. p. 52.

^u Specimen Antiq. Rei Monet. Danorum, p. 10.

^w Column 899. This passage is not to be found in Lambard's or Wilkins's Edition.

^x Vol. I. folio 1, & passim.

^γ Glossary, sub voce Ora.

nies was unquestionably in use. In the 37th of Henry III. the men of Berkeholt in the County of Suffolk claimed, by prescription from the time of Henry II., to pay to the Lord, on the marriage of their daughters, no more than two Orae, which were in value thirty-two Pence ².

These which have been enumerated above, are all the Coins, and denominations of Money, which appear to have been used by the Anglo-Saxons. The materials, from which the account of them has been compiled, are, it must be confessed, in every instance scanty, and in many unsatisfactory. But from a careful consideration of them, such as they are, the following conclusions seem to arise. First, that no evidence has yet been produced to prove that the Anglo-Saxons struck any Gold Money; but that the balance of probability apparently inclines to the determination, that no such Money was issued from their Mints ³. Secondly, that the Penny, Half-penny, Farthing, and Half-Farthing, were actual Coins; as was, probably, the Triens, which divided the Penny into three equal parts. And, thirdly, that the Mancus, the Mark, the Ora, the Shilling, and the Thrimsa, were only Money of Account; or that if the Mancus were ever current amongst the Anglo-Saxons, it was a foreign Coin, and was never imitated in their Mints.

² Id. Ibid. referring to Plac. coram Rege T. Mich. 37 H. III. Rot. 4.

³ The Coins called Bezants, which sometimes occur in Anglo-Saxon transactions of bargain and sale, derived their name from Bizantium (Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern Empire), where they were struck.

I now proceed to give such Notices of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage as I have been able to collect, either from the Coins themselves, or from the Laws and Histories of those times; but must apprise my Readers, that they are to expect little more than a dry List of the Names of the Mints and Moneyers.

The Sceattæ, which are represented on the first and second Plates, may, from their rudeness of design, be considered as the earliest products of the Anglo-Saxon Mints, although we have no means of ascertaining the time when, or the place where, they were struck. Some of them are obviously prior to the introduction of Christianity, as it cannot be supposed that the Cross would ever be omitted after it had once been impressed, as a religious symbol upon their Coins. One of them, N^o 25 in Plate I., bears on its Reverse the evident imitation of a common Roman Coin. I am unable to explain the very few letters which are to be found upon them.

The Coinage of the different Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, from its superior antiquity, must be next considered; and here the Kingdom of Kent claims the precedence, not only on account of its earlier establishment than the rest, but likewise because the Coins of the Monarchs which have been discovered are by far the most antient in the Anglo-Saxon Series.

A Sceatta of Ethilberht I., King of Kent from 561 to 616^b, is the earliest Saxon Coin which has

^b As great chronological accuracy is not necessary to my subject, I shall give the dates as I find them in the Fasti at the end

yet been appropriated^c. It bears on the Obverse the name of the Monarch, and on the Reverse a rude figure, which occurs on many of the Sceattæ, and which is supposed to be intended to represent a Bird.

No place of Mintage, nor even the Moneyer's name, appears upon it, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain in what part of his Kingdom it was struck. As it wants the symbol of Christianity, its date may, with probability, be referred to some part of the period between the year 561, when he ascended the throne, and the conclusion of that century, when Ethilberht's conversion is supposed to have been effected by St. Augustine.

In his Laws the Fines are estimated by Scillings and Sceattæ^d.

Sceattæ are the only Coins which have hitherto been discovered of Ecgberht, who reigned in Kent from 665. to 674. They are of various types. On some the figure of the King, standing between two crosses, appears on the Obverse, together with his name; whilst the Reverse bears only a small Cross, with the name of the Moneyer. On the Obverse of others is a figure rudely representing a Dragon, with a Reverse like the former.

His Moneyers' names are,

ALCHISED.

ALCHRED.

EADBEREHTVL.

of Sir Henry Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam. folio*, London, 1696, and in those, drawn up by Tyrrell, which are added to Sir A. Fountaine's *Num. Ang. Sax.*

^c Several of the Sceattæ in the two Plates are probably older than this, as they are of workmanship equally rude, and have no legend.

^d Wilkins, p. 1.

EAGBEREHTVL. EOTBEREHTVL. EOTBERTVL.
ECFVAIR.

In the Laws of Hlothare, who began to reign in 674^e, and in those of Eadric his successor in 686^f, Shillings are the only Coins which occur; but the Fines which are imposed by the Laws of Wihtræd, who ascended the throne in 693, are regulated by Shillings and Pounds^g. No Money of these three Monarchs has yet been discovered.

The next which is known is a Coin of Ethilberht II., between the years 749 and 760. In this reign, or perhaps earlier, though no specimens have yet been found, the Money seems to have quitted the Sceatta form; and with a more expanded volume, and a trifling addition of weight, then first commenced, in this Island, that species of Coins which was afterward, for so many ages, known by the denomination of the Penny.

This Coin has on the Obverse the head of the King, with his name, and on the Reverse Romulus and Remus, with the she-wolf, in an irregular oblong compartment, over which is the word REX. Its genuineness has been suspected, chiefly on account of this imitation of a Roman device; but it is by no means singular in that respect, as will appear on examination of N^o 25 in the first Plate of Sceattæ.

There are Pennies of Eadbearht, or Ethelbert surnamed Præn, which have his name and title in three lines on the Obverse, and his Moneyer's name on the other side.

^e Wilkins, p. 7.

^f Id. Ibid.

^g Id. p. 10.

Only three Moneyers have yet been discovered on the Coins of this Monarch, who began to reign A. D. 794.

ETHELMOD.

IAENBERHT.

TIDHEAH.

Cuthred ascended the throne in the year 797. On his Coins the title of King of Kent first appears, in addition to the name. The Reverses have respectively the names of the following Moneyers :

DVDA.

HEREMODI.

SIGEBERHTI.

EABA.

SIGEBERHT.

VERHEARDI.

HEREMOD.

Beldred is likewise stiled King of Kent upon his Money. His reign began in 805, and continued until the dissolution of that kingdom in 823. Three different types of his Money are engraven in Plate III.

On the first of them will be found the earliest instance which is known of the insertion of the place of Mintage. Its Reverse bears within the inner circle an abbreviation of DOROVERNIA CIVITAS, and is the earliest specimen, which can be authenticated, of the Royal Mint in Canterbury.

His Moneyers were,

DIORMOD.

ETHELMOD.

OBA.

SWEFNERD.

No Coins of the SOUTH SAXON Monarchs have as yet been discovered.

In the Laws of Ina, who reigned over the WEST SAXONS from 688 to 726, the Fines are reckoned by Shillings, except in two or three instances, where Pennies are, for the first time, made use of for that

purpose^b. None of this Monarch's Coins have yet appeared; but to his immediate successor, Aethelheard, some have been attributedⁱ. They are of rude

^b Wilkins, p. 14.

ⁱ Mr. Combe, under whose inspection the Plates of Anglo-Saxon Coins which illustrate this Work were engraved, communicated to me, some time since, his opinion that the Coins above-mentioned were wrongly appropriated to Aethelheard. I am happy in having an opportunity to state to my Readers, in Mr. Combe's own words, the arguments on which that opinion is founded: "I have long had reason to believe that the Coins which have been hitherto attributed to Aethelweard, or rather Aethelheard, King of the West Saxons, belong, in reality, to some unknown King of the former name among the Princes of the East Angles. If the Coins of Aethelweard, or Aethelheard, be compared with those of Eadmund King of the East Angles, it will be found that not only the types of the two Coinages agree, but that the names of several of the Moneys correspond; and even the formation of the letters, which are of a very peculiar shape, is precisely the same on the Coins of both reigns. The inedited Coin of Aethelweard, of which a drawing is given, affords an additional instance of the resemblance of the Coins of Aethelweard to those of Eadmund, for it is in every respect similar, even in the form of the letters, to one of Eadmund, published in Mr. Ruding's Work, Plate IX. fig. 9.

"Aethelheard, King of the West Saxons, began his reign in 726, and it was not before the year 855 that Eadmund was King of the East Angles, a difference in point of time of 129 years. Now it is highly improbable that such a close resemblance should be found in any Coins struck at so great a distance of time from each other; and we believe that no other instance of a similar kind is to be met with in the history of any Country, either in ancient or modern times.

"There is in point of fact no King of the name of Aethelweard among the Kings of the West Saxons; and it seems probable that the English Antiquaries not finding the name of Aethelweard in the list of Saxon Kings, were led to appropriate the Coins with this name to Aethelheard, a King of the West Saxons, whose name resembles that of Aethelweard more than any other, both in

workmanship, and bear only the King's name and title, and the Moneyer's name. The Mint does not appear upon them.

Moneyers :

AETHELHELM. DVDDA. EADMVND. RAEXENHEBE.

He reigned from 726 to 740, when he was succeeded by Cuthred, of whom no Coins are known.

After the death of Cuthred, in 754, no Coins have been discovered until the accession of Beorhtic, in 784. Of his Mint a single Penny only is known, which is engraven in Plate III. This Coin so nearly resembles in type some of those which have hitherto been ascribed to Aethelheard, that it should seem it must follow their destination. It must be observed, however, that the peculiarly formed letters do not appear upon it. It has not the name either of the Kingdom or the Mint.

The Moneyer's name is **ECCHARDI**.

Of all the Heptarchic Monarchies the Kingdom of **MERCIA**, if we may be allowed to form a conclusion from the number of its Coins which have descended to our times, was by far the most wealthy. The first specimen, however, of its Coinage is of the date of nearly one hundred years from its foundation as a separate state, in the reign of Eadvald, who ascended the throne in 716. His Coins are of rude workmanship, and have only the name of the King,

sound and orthography." [Archæologia, vol. XIX. p. 111. This volume has also furnished me with considerable additions to the Lists of Moneyers in the reigns of Berhtulf King of Mercia, and of the Sole Monarchs Ecgbeorht, Ethelwlf, and Aethelbearht.]

and of his Moneyer, with the addition of the Monarch's title J.

His Moneyers were,

EADNÖTH.

REGNIGHT.

VINTRED.

The Coins of Offa, whose reign in Mercia extended from A. D. 758 to 796, a period of thirty-eight years, present some of the most elegant specimens of the Art of Coinage which are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Series. As he was at Rome in the Pontificate of Adrian I., it is probable that he brought from thence Italian Artists, to whose skill the improvement of his Money is to be imputed. These Coins have the head of Offa, in a style of drawing which is without parallel in the Money of this Island from the time of Cunobeline to the reign of King Henry VII. If the account be correct, that he visited Rome only about two years before his death ^k, it should seem that these Coins should have been placed the last amongst the representations of his Money. Immediately after his death the Italian Artists must have ceased to work, as the Money resumed its former barbarous appearance on the accession of his son Egcbert.

On some of his Coins his name only is impressed on the Obverse, and in others it has the addition of REX, or of REX MERCIORVM¹; on all these the name of the Moneyer is to be found on the Reverse.

^j In his Charters he stiles himself Rex Merciorum. [Hemingi Chart. p. 16.]

^k Carte, History of England, vol. I. p. 273. This account rests, as I believe, solely upon the fabulous life of Offa; but there is sufficient evidence of his intercourse with Italy to warrant the supposition respecting the employment of Italian Artists.

¹ In his Charters his title is — A. D. 772, Rex Suthanglorum;

But instances are not wanting where the Moneyer's name appears on the Obverse, with the image of the Monarch, whose name and title are then transferred to the other side; and one Penny is stamped with the King's name on both sides.

The types of the Reverses are extremely numerous, and some of them are not destitute of picturesque design; they do not afford the name of any of his Mints.

Various Moneyers were employed by him; their names were,

ÆLRED.	EALMVND.	OSMOD.
ALH MVN.	EALRED.	OTER.
ALH MVND.	EOBA.	REDWIN.
ALH MVTH.	ETHELNOTH.	REGNIGHT.
ALMVND.	ETHELVALD.	THONI, probably
BABBA.	ETHILVALD.	INOTH reversed.
BEANEARD.	FEHTVALD.	VDD.
BERNEARD.	HEABER, or pos-	VINTRED.
CELHARD.	sibly HEATHER.	WEHVALD.
CIOLHARD.	IBBA.	WIHREA.
DVD.	INONNG.	WIHRED.
EADBERHT.	INOTH.	WIHTRED.
EADMVN.	LVLLA.	WINOTH.
EADMVVN.	OETHELRES.	WLNOTH.
EALH MVNTH.	OLH MVND.	

His Queen Cenethreth, or Quindred, appears to have enjoyed the privilege of coining; at least her name appears upon two Pennies which have descended to these times. On the Obverse of two of these is an head, which is supposed to represent her

790, Rex Mercensium; 788, Rex Merciorum; Rex Anglorum; Rex a rege regum constitutus. [Hemingi Chart. pp. 552. 26. 18. 109.]. Gratia Dei Rex Merciorum. [Mat. Paris, p. 1151. Additamenta Editoris.]

husband Offa, with the name of the Moneyer, in a style greatly resembling those Coins of Offa which are engraven in Plate IV. Nos 12 and 14. On the Reverse is the Queen's name, together with her title^m. But however these two pieces may seem not to have claimed the power of coinage for her, but to have left it in the hand of the King, with whose image they are impressed; yet another Penny bears her superscription alone, which gives it the appearance of having issued from the Mint under her sole authority.

Her Moneyers are, Eoba. Oba.

On the death of Offa, in 796, his son Egcbert succeeded to the throne, and died within six months after his accession. But notwithstanding the shortness of his reign he coined Money, of which specimens still exist. They bear on the Obverse his name, with that of the Moneyer on the Reverse; and they are appropriated to this Monarch on account of their resemblance to the Coins of Offa, and because they appear to have been stamped by his Moneyers, whose names are found upon themⁿ.

They are, BABBA and VDD.

After his death, Coenvulf ascended the throne of Mercia, which he possessed more than two and twenty years.

^m Her name appears, with her style, in a Charter granted by Offa to the Church of Worcester — Ego Cynethryth Dei gratia Regina Merciorum. [Selden's Titles of Honour, part I. chap. VI. § 7.]

ⁿ William of Malmesbury says that Offa caused his son to be anointed King during his life-time. p. 33.

*In Hembles
Codel Diple:
mations, Cy.
rather the
signature as
a witness is
appended to
various Char-
ters of Offa.
The earliest
is 772. To
one of the
date of 780
the sign
"Ego Cynethryth
Dei gratia
Regina Mercie.
hinc donatus
est Regis
consensu et
subscriptis".
to another
in 781, "Ego
Cynethryth Dei
donatus regi:
na Mercie
est consensu
et subscriptis".
Her signature
does not occ-
ur later than
780: though
Offa reigned
to 796.*

In variety of types his Coinage resembles that of Offa; but in point of workmanship it is far inferior to it. All his Coins have his name and title, with the addition of M. to designate the Kingdom of Mercia°. Their Reverses bear simply the name of the Moneyer, without any place of Mintage.

His Moneyers were numerous, and many of their names are the same as those which appear upon the Money of Offa and Egberht.

BIORNFERTH.	ECGBERHT.	SVVEFNERD.
BOTRED.	EOBA.	TIDBEARHT.
CEOLBEALD.	ETHECMOD.	VERHEARD.
CIOLHARD.	ETHELMOD.	VERHEARDI.
DEALLA.	HEREBERHT.	WERHEARD.
DIAR P.	LVDOMAN.	WERHEARDI.
DIOLA P.	LVL.	WIGHED.
DIORMOD.	LVLLA.	WIHTRED,
DVDA.	NEREBERHT ^q .	or
DVN.	OBA.	WINTRED.
BALHSTAN.	SEBERHTI.	VVILHVN.
EANMVND.	SIGEBERHTI.	WITHED.
ECBERHT.	SIGESTEF.	WITHER.

The short reign of Ciolvulf I., which commenced about 819, and continued not more than twelve

° In his Charters he likewise styles himself Rex Merciorum. [Hemingi Chart. p. 1. anno 816.]

On one, which was in the course of the year 1817 found near Dorking, the type of the Obverse is similar to No 28, and the Reverse is nearly the same as No 24, in Plate VII. It is in the possession of George Dewdney, Esq. Banker, at Dorking, having been discovered upon an estate in his occupation.

P On Mr. Dewdney's Coins.

q From Mr. Southgate's MSS.; but qu. whether HEREBERHT above be not the true reading? It is not always easy to distinguish whether H. M. or N. be the letter intended.

months, affords, notwithstanding its shortness, three specimens of his Coinage.

They are all stamped with the rude representation of the Monarch, together with his title as King of Mercia. On the Reverse is the Moneyer's name, with the addition, in one instance, of the place of Mintage:

DOROBERNIA^r.

His Moneyers were,

CEOLHARD ^s .	EALHTAN, probably for	EANVVLF.
DEALING.	EALHSTAN.	SIGESTEF ^s .

He was succeeded by Beornwulf, who reigned until 824, of whose Coins three are still known to exist. They all bear a profile, but scarcely human, with the name and title; and the Moneyers name on the other side. No Mints are to be found upon them.

Moneyers:

EADWAS.	EVCSTA.	MONNA.
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The reign of Ludican was still more circumscribed than that of his predecessor, and was ended in about eighteen months. One Penny only of his has yet been discovered. It is engraven in Plate VII. The Reverse of it is singular, in having the name of the Moneyer, and the title of his office, in three irregular lines across the field.

*Ludicha
rex signs as
witness to a
Charter of
Offn of the
year 793.
See Humberley
Cotton. B. 1. 193.*

Moneyer, WERBALD.

^r In the Duke of Devonshire's Collection. Dr. Combe's MS.

^{s s} Both these names are likewise given on Dr. Combe's authority. The first is from Sir A. Fountaine's Plates, No 3; the last from the Cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire, as above.

Wiglaf, who succeeded him, reigned fourteen years; but his Coins are nearly as rare as those of his predecessor. One specimen only, with a Cross on the Obverse, occurs in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Plates, the original of which is not now known to exist. By the favour of George Dewdney, Esq. I am able to give an engraving of a Penny, struck by this Monarch, which was found, with about 700 others, upon an estate occupied by that gentleman near Dorking in Surrey in the year 1817. It has a very rude profile, with the name and title as King of Mercia, on the Obverse; and on the Reverse a Cross with the Moneyer's name HVVNOELL. See Appendix, Plate XXIX. REDMAN is the Moneyer upon Sir A. Fountaine's engraving.

Of Berhtulf, who ascended the throne in 839, and reigned thirteen years, not any circumstances are recorded which can illustrate the history of his Coinage. The most common specimens of his Money resemble in rudeness, and in legend, those of his Predecessors, excepting that not any place of Mintage appears upon them; but a very rare Penny without the head occurred amongst those discovered near Dorking. It is engraven in Plate XXIX. of the Appendix.

His Moneyers' names were,

BRID.	^t EANRALD, probably	OSYÆF ^u .
BVRNVVALD.	for the preceding.	SIGEHEAH.
DENEHEAH.	LIABAVND.	^t TATEL.
DENEHEAN, or	OSVLF.	WIGEHEAN.
DENEMEAN.	OZVVLf.	WINE.
EANBALD.		

^t Mr. Dewdney's Coins.

^u So this name is written by Mr. Southgate in his MSS.

The long reign of Burgred affords a great variety of Coins, together with irrefragable proofs that the Art of Coinage had then sunk into the lowest state of barbarism, not only in point of execution, but also in the baseness of the standard; for some of them are of an extremely coarse alloy. This debasement was probably occasioned by poverty, the consequence of repeated plunderings by the Danes, who at length succeeded in driving Burgred from his dominions in the year 874, after he had reigned twenty-two years. He took refuge in Rome, where he died, and was interred in St. Mary's Church belonging to the School of the English Nation there †.

His Coins bear on the Obverse his portrait, if that name can be given with propriety to a drawing which so little resembles the human form, with his name and title around it †; and on the Reverse is the Moneyer's name. From the following List it should seem that considerable quantities of Money were coined in his Mints, where so numerous a body of Workmen was employed. The variety of names far exceeds that of any other Monarch of the Mercian Kingdom, though the reigns of Eadvald and Offa were of considerably greater extent.

No Mints are to be found upon his Coins.

His Moneyers were,

ADHELM.	BEAGSIAN.	BERNEA.
ADHLEM.	BEARNE.	BERHEAH.
BEACILIA.	BERAHM.	BERHTEL.
BEAGITAN.	BERHAM.	BERLM.
BEAGLIA.	BERHEA, or	BEVRNI.

† Saxon Chronicle, sub anno.

† A Charter dated 855 calls him Burhred rex Merciorum.
[Hemingi Chart. p. 33.]

DIARNVLF.	DVDA.	GVDHEM.
BLEHTICI ^x .	DVDD.	GVTHERE.
CEALLAF.	DVDDA.	HEAGLE.
CENRED.	DVDECIL, or	HEAVVLF.
CIALLA.	DYDECIL.	HEREFERTH.
CIALLAF.	DVDELM.	HEREMELTH.
CVNEHEL.	DVDEMAN.	HVGERED.
CVNEHELM.	DVDEMTAN.	HVSSA,
CVNEHL.	DVDNE.	LIAFMAN.
CVNEHLM.	DVDWINE, or	LVLLA.
CVNEHM.	DYDWINE.	MAMMAN.
CVTHERE.	EADNOD.	OSMVND.
DADA.	EADVLF.	OSMVNE.
DIAINLE.	EANRED.	TATA.
DIARVLF.	ETHELHEAM.	TATEL.
DIARVLFI.	ETHELVL.	VVHNE.
DIARVALD.	ETHELVLF.	VVLFEARD.
DIARVIL.	ETHERED.	WIFEARD.
DIARVVLF.	FRAMRIC.	WINE.
DIGA.	GEVNTHE.	

On the flight of Burgred from his dominions, Ceolvulf his Minister mounted the throne, but was soon after deprived, by the Danes, of the sovereignty which he had assumed. With his short reign the Mercian Kingdom expired.

His Coins resemble those of Burgred in type.

His Moneyers were, HEREBERHT. ORA.

No Coins of the Monarchs of the EAST ANGLES are known prior to the reign of Beonna, who ascended the throne about the year 690.

Two of his Pennies, of the Sceatta form, and of very inartificial workmanship, have been preserved. They have on one side the name and title of the

^x Archæologia, vol. IX. p. 188.

King, and the Moneyer's name, without any addition, on the other.

Moneyer, EFE.

The unsettled state of this Kingdom, and its subsequent annexation, for a time, to that of Mercia by Offa, are probably the causes that no Coins have been discovered subsequent to the reign of Beonna, until Eadmund ascended the throne, about the year 855, more than one hundred and fifty years after the decease of that Monarch. But see note [1] p.321.

His Coins have his name and title, REX AN., on the Obverse, and the Moneyer's name on the Reverse. The situation of his Mints is not known, as his Money gives no information respecting them.

His Moneyers were,

AETHELHELM.	DVDDA.	EADWOLD.
ALEX.	EADMONV.	ETHELHELM.
BAELHELM.	EADMVND.	ETHELVVLF.
BEORNFERTH.	EADVALD.	SIGERED.
BEORNHAEH.	EADWALD.	SILERED.
DECALE.	EADWARD.	TWICCA.

After the martyrdom of St. Eadmund, by the Danes, in the year 870^y, Guthrum, a Dane, was placed upon the throne of East Anglia, by Alfred ^z. This Monarch was converted to Christianity, and at the time of his baptism, in 878^a, took upon him the name of Ethelstan ^b.

His Coins, of which several varieties have been preserved, must have been struck subsequently to

^y Chron. Sax. sub anno.

^z William of Malmsbury, p. 34.

^a Chron. Sax. sub anno.

^b Chron. Sax. sub anno 890, in which year Ethelstan died.

his conversion, as they all bear his Anglo-Saxon name, and are marked with the symbol of Christianity. They resemble, in type, those of his predecessor, excepting that the letters AN are never added to his title. The first of these letters, however, is frequently found within the inner circle of the Obverse. They have, in general, the Moneyer's name on the Reverse, without any place of Mintage; but one remarkable Penny reads **ETHELSTAN** on the Obverse, and **REX ANG.** on the Reverse; and another has **ETHELSTAN REX** on both sides ^c.

The following names of his Moneyers are all that I have been able to discover :

EADGAR.	ERNWER.	RERNNER.
EADNOD,	ERONWER.	TORHTHEL.
probably for	MON.	TORNTHELM.
EADNOTH.	ORNTHELM.	TORTHELM.

Eohric, who succeeded him in the year 890, was, after a reign of fourteen years, expelled by his subjects, and this Kingdom was then added to the dominions of **Eadward the Elder** ^d.

The Kingdom of **NORTHUMBERLAND**, which was founded by **Ida** about the middle of the sixth century, has this remarkable peculiarity belonging to its Coinage — that from its Mints issued, as far as is yet discovered, the only Brass Coins which were struck by the Anglo-Saxons. The earliest specimen, hitherto known, is of the reign of **Ecgrith**, who ascended the throne in the year 670, and fell at **Drummechtan**, with most of his troops, in the

^c In Mr. Barker's Cabinet. Mr. Southgate's MS.

^d William of Malmesbury, p. 34.

15th year of his reign^e. It differs from the *Stycas* of succeeding Monarchs in the omission of the Moneyer's name on the Reverse^f.

Of the sixteen succeeding Monarchs (whose reigns occupy a period of something more than 130 years) no Coins have as yet occurred. The first that appears was struck by Eanred, who began to reign in the year 808. He was, according to Speed, one "of the intruders, or rather tyrants, who bandied for this sovereignty for the space of thirty years." The last of them was Ælla, with whom terminated the Northumbrian Monarchy.

One Silver Penny of Eanred is known. It has his portrait, with his name and title, on the Obverse, and on the other side the Moneyer's name and office, with the letter *m*, whose meaning I am unable to explain^g. His *Stycas* are of various rude types, without any representation of the Monarch, but with a legend similar to that on his Silver Coin, excepting that the Moneyer's name stands on the Reverse, without any addition.

The Workmen employed by him were,

ALDATES.	FORDRED.	HRRED.
BRODER.	FVLCNOD.	HVAETRED.
RRODR.	GADVTEs.	MONNE.
DAEGBERCT.	GADVTEIS.	THES. the Moneyer
EADVINI.	HEARDLF.	on his Penny.
EANRED.	HEARDVLF.	VVLFHEARD.
EARRDVVLF.	HERRED.	VVLFRED.

^e Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I. pp. 150, 152.

^f See an Engraving of the Coin, Appendix, Plate XXVIII. and the Explanation.

^g See Appendix, Plate XXVII.

The Stycas of Ethelred his son, who succeeded to him A. D. 840, so much resemble those of his father as not to require a particular description. They are much more numerous than his predecessor's.

His Moneyers were,

ALDHERE.	EDILREED.	LEOGDEGN.
ALGHERE.	EORDRED,	MONNE.
ANRED.	pro	ODILO.
BROTHER.	FORDRED?	OLDVN.
CEOLBALD.	FORDRED.	TIDVLF.
CVDHEARD.	HNIFVLA.	VBRODER.
EADMVND.	IEVVBE.	VENDELBERHT.
ÆANBALD.	INRED.	VVLFRED.
ÆANRED.	LEOFDEG.	WINTRD.
EARDVVLF.	LEOFDEGN.	WINTRED.

He was succeeded by Redulf.

The Stycas of his Coinage resemble those of his predecessors. I have not been able to discover the date of his accession to the throne.

His Moneyers are,

ALGHERE. qu.	COENED.	FORDRED.
ALDHERE?	CVDBEREHT.	MONNE.
BROTHER.	ÆANRED.	VENDELBERHT.

On the Stycas of Osbercht, whose reign began in 849, and ended by the usurpation of Ælla in 862, the title of REX is sometimes omitted. In other respects they differ not from the former.

His Moneyers' names are less numerous than those of his predecessors. They are,

EANVLF. EANVVLF. MONNE. VINIBEGHT. VINIBERHT.

After his reign the Stycas seem to have fallen into disuse, at least none of a later period have yet been found.

At what time Regnald ascended the throne is not known ; but both he and Anlaf were expelled from the Kingdom, by Eadmund, in the year 944 ^b.

One Coin only remains of the work of his Mints. It is the first on which the Saxon Cununc appears instead of the Roman Rex. On the Reverse is the Moneyer's name, AVRA.

The Coins of Anlaf, who was driven from Northumberland in the same year that Regnald was expelled from thence, are much more numerous than his. On some of them the Saxon Cununc is found, and on others the Roman Rex. His name also is variously written, it being sometimes Anlaf, and at others Onlaf. One Coin bears on the Obverse the Raven, which was also worked on the enchanted Danish Standardⁱ; and another has on its Reverse what seems to be intended for a Banner :

^b Chron. Sax. sub anno.

ⁱ See Plate XI. No 1. Of this Coin Sir A. Fountaine says, "Aquila (vel alia quæcunque sit avis) huic nummo impressa videtur fuisse signum seu vexillum Anlafi ad instar Aquilæ Romanæ." [Numismata Ang. Sax. &c. p. 172.] But it is more probable that this bird was a representation of the famous Standard, which is thus described in Asser's Life of Aelfred, who took it from the Danes A.D. 878* : "In quo etiam acceperunt illud vexillum quod Reafan† nominant: dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Habbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodebrochi illud vexillum texuerunt, & totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano tempore: dicunt etiam, quod in omni bello, ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivens volitans: sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, ponderet directe nihil movens: et hoc sæpe probatum est." [Asserius de rebus gestis Ælfredi. à Wise, p. 33. Vid. Vit. Ælfredi à Spelmanno, p. 31.]

* After a battle in Devonshire, in which the Brother of Inwar and Healfden was slain, together with 840 of his men. Chron. Sax. sub anno.

† It was also called Raunfan. Gesta Danorum extra Daniam, vol. II. p. 32.

possibly the same Standard, though it is upon too small a scale to allow the representation of the Raven upon it.

These Coins all bear, on the Obverse, the Monarch's name and title, with the Moneyer's name on the other side. No Mint is to be found upon them.

His Moneyers were,

ATHEFERD.	FAMAN.	RADVLEF.
ATHELFERD.	FARMAN.	RATHVLF.
BACIALER.	FARN.	WADTER.
EAGMON.	INGELGAR.	

In the year 949 Anlaf returned to the Kingdom of Northumberland, and was again expelled, by his subjects, in 952, who raised to the Throne Yric the son of Harold. Him likewise they deprived in less

j See Plate II. N° 2. The figure on the Reverse has been thought to represent various things. By Obadiah Walker it was supposed to be the front of a Church. This Sir A. Fountaine conceived to be a mistake, but knew not for what it was intended. [Vid. Num. Ang. Sax.] Mr. Thwaites called it a Pastoral Staff and a Book secured with seven seals, and that it was struck to commemorate the baptism of Anlaf. [Notæ in Ang. Sax. Nummos.] Mr. G. North imagined it "to be the Cþym, which was a white linen cloth, put over the face, immediately after baptism, and worn for eight days." [MS penès Autorem.] The figure on the Obverse is said by Thwaites to be the rude form of a Mitre. Sir A. Fountaine can make nothing of it. Nicolson takes it to be a Cluster of three Kingdoms, not much unlike the three Legs (as they are called) upon the modern Farthings of the Isle of Man; and as the English Historians make Anlaf King of Ireland, Northumberland, and (multarum Insularum) of the Isles; and that he was also, as he conjectures, King of Man; he asks, "Is not this the firmest ground whereon the Manks Tripos can stand?" [Irish Hist. Library, p. 74.]

than two years, and the Kingdom was then taken possession of by Ædred^k.

Some of the Pennies of Eric are stamped, on the Obverse, with the figure of a Sword, the meaning of which is not known, whilst others have only a plain Cross Patee in the centre: all of them bear the King's name and title^l. Their Reverses have the names of the following Moneyers:

ACVLF.	INEGELGAR.	INGELGAR.
HVNRED.	INGAELGAR.	RADVLF.

At the beginning of the ninth century Ecgbeorht ascended the throne of the West Saxon Kingdom; and in the course of his long reign brought under his dominion nearly the whole of the Heptarchic States. He is therefore commonly considered as THE FIRST SOLE MONARCH OF ENGLAND^m; notwithstanding those States were not completely united in one Sovereignty until the reign of Eadgar.

On his Coins he is styled sometimes REX alone, and sometimes SAXONVM is added in a Monogram within the inner circle of the Obverse, where in the others a rude representation of the Monarch appears.

^k Chron. Sax. sub annis.

^l Which is sometimes ERIC REX only; in other instances N is added, probably for the name of his Kingdom; and a Penny in the Cabinet of the late Robert Austin, Esq. reads ERICVS REX A.

^m Selden says, that the glory and greatness of Egbert consisted rather in the swallowing up of the other subject Kingdoms into his own rule, and in the new styling the Heptarchy by the name of England (for he, in *Parliamento*, *apud Wintoniam*, *mutavit nomen regni, de consensu populi sui, & jussit illud de cætero vocari Angliam*) than in having a larger dominion than any of his predecessors. [Titles of Honour, part I. chap. III. § 1. He quotes, for the words in Italicks, Instrum. lib. Hospit. S. Leonardi. Ebor. MS. in Bibl. Cottoniana.]

The Moneyer's name is on the Reverse. His Mints are not known, unless the Monogram in the centre of N^{os} 2 and 3 of his Coins should be intended for Canterbury.

"The work of his Money," says Mr. G. North, "is so very rude and bad as justly to be wondered at, especially as the Money of Offa, who died not 50 years before him, expresses a degree of elegance. It may in general be observed that the Coins we have remaining of the West Saxon Kings are inferior in work to all the rest of the Saxon Money."ⁿ

If the Monogram on the Reverse of N^{os} 2 and 3 of his Coins be intended for DOROB C, then Canterbury must be inserted as one of his Mints.

His Moneyers were,

BEORNEHART.	DEBIS.	TIDBEARHT.
BEORNHEARD.	DIORMOD.	TIDEMAN.
BEORNHEARTH.	DVNVN.	TILVVINE.
BIORNMOD.	ObA.	TIMBEARHT.
BIOSEL.	OSMVND.	TIMDEARHT.
BOSA.	SIGESTEF.	VVEFNARD.
BOSEL.	SVEFNVRD.	

Ethelvulf succeeded to Ecgbœhrt in 837; and although his reign extended to little more than one half of the length of his Father's, yet more of his Coins have been found, and a greater variety of Moneyers appears upon them. They bear on the Obverse his name and title, which is sometimes continued on the Reverse, either by CANT, SAXONIO-

ⁿ MSS. penes Autor. If Mr. North had recollected the barbarous workmanship of the Coins of Ecgbœhrt and Coenvulf, the immediate successors of Offa in the Mercian Kingdom, he would not have expressed so much surprize at the rudeness of this Money.

RVM, or OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM. His portrait is rudely executed on some of them, whilst on others its place is occupied by a part of the word DORIBERNIA, the place where they were struck. The Reverses have the Moneyer's name, sometimes alone, and sometimes with his title of office subjoined.

No other Mint appears upon them but DORIBERNIA, Canterbury.

His Moneyers were,

BEAGMVN.	EARDVLFES.	HVNRED.
BEAGMVND.	ETHELEHERE.	LIABA.
BIARMOD.	ETHELERE.	LIVBA.
BIARNNOTH.	ETHELGEARD.	MANINC.
BIORMOD.	ETHELHERE.	MANNA.
*BRID.	ETHELLOD.	MVNN.
DEGBEARHT.	ETHELMOD.	OSMVND.
DEINEAH.	ETHELMVND.	TIRVALD.
DIAR.	ETHELNOTH.	TORHTVLF.
DINEAH.	HEBECA.	TORHTVVALD.
DVDVINE.	HEDEBEALD.	VERMVND.
DVNN.	HEREBEAED.	VVEALHEARD.
DYN.	HEREBEALD.	VVELHHEARD,
DYYN.	HEREBELD.	or
EAGMVND.	HEREBEVLD.	VVELMHEARD.
EAIGMVND.	HVNBEAHT.	VVILHEAH.
EALGMVND.	HVNBEARHT.	VVILHEM.
EANMVND.		

Aethelbald. Of this Monarch, who ascended the throne upon the death of his Father in 857, no Money is now known to exist. But in a Set of Plates of Anglo-Saxon Coins, which was engraved by Hall, under the direction, as it is believed, of Mr. John White, of Newgate Street, a Penny is ascribed to him. In type it is exactly similar to

N^o 1. of Ethelvulf in Plate XIV. and has on its sides the following legend: Obverse, AETHELBALD REX. — Reverse, BEAHMVND MONETA. To this Engraving the late Dr. Combe has referred in his MS., and has marked the Coin as being in the Cabinet of Mr. Austin, where he assured me that he saw it, and had no doubt of its being a genuine Coin. The Coin, however, is not now in Mr. Austin's Collection, which was carefully examined by Mr. Taylor Combe. I have, notwithstanding, given the above account of this remarkable Penny, because from Dr. Combe's accuracy I am convinced he could not have been mistaken as to the existence of the Coin; nor is it probable that the correctness of his eye could have been deceived by a forgery. The insertion of this description may possibly lead to the discovery of this valuable relique of the Anglo-Saxon Mints.

The short reign of Aethelbald terminated, by his death, in 862, when his brother Aethelbert succeeded him, but sat on the throne not more than five years. Few of his Coins were known, until the hoard which was discovered in the neighbourhood of Dorking, in 1817, afforded 249 of them, all of the type of N^o 1 in Plate XV.^o They bear in their legends only the name and title of the Monarch, and of his Moneyers.

BADEMVND.	BIARNMOD.	CENRED.
BADENOTH.	BIARNVINE.	CENVEALD.
BEAGMVND.	BVRNVALD.	CVNEFRETH.
BEAHMVND.	CEALEARD.	DEALLA.

^o See Archæologia, vol. XIX. p. 117.

DEGBEARHT.	ETHELVEALD.	OSBEARHT.
DEGLAB.	ETHELVLf.	OSHERE.
DEGLAF.	ETHERED.	OSMERE.
DENEMVND.	HEABEARHT.	SEFRETH.
DIALMOD.	HEBECA.	SELERED.
DIARMOD.	HEREBEALD.	SIGHERE.
DVDDA.	HEREFRETH.	TORHTMVND.
DVDVINE.	HEREGEARD.	TORHTVLf.
DVDWINE.	HEREMVND.	VERMVND.
EADVLf.	HVNBEARHT.	VIINOTH.
EALDRED.	HVNRED.	VIOHTMVND.
ETHELGEARD.	LIABINC.	VLANCEARD.
ETHELHERE.	LIABING.	VVLFEARD.
ETHELNOTH.	LVCEMAN.	VVLFHEARD.
ETHELRED.	MANINC.	VVNBEARHT.
ETHELKED.	NOTHVLf.	

The Children of Aethelbearht were set aside by his Brother Aethelred, who assumed the government, on his death, in 867.

The legend of his Coins differs from those of his predecessor only in the addition of SAXORVM to his title. No Mint appears upon them.

The following names of his Moneyers have been preserved:

BIARNEAH.	DVDD.	HEREBEALD.
BIARNMOD.	DVDDA.	MANING.
BVRGNOTH.	DVNN.	MANN.
DENVALD.	ELBERE.	MANNINC.
DIGA.	ETHELRED.	TORHTMVND.

Aelfred was raised to the throne upon the death of Aethelred, the rights of the Children of the elder Branch being again violated.

Although his long reign, from 872 to 901, was so much disturbed by the incursions of the Danes, with whom he was engaged in bloody contests

almost to the time of his death, yet his natural genius and indefatigable application enabled him to arrive at such a proficiency in literature and in the arts as was unequalled by any of his contemporaries. The following account, by Asser, of his unwearied diligence in widely-varied pursuits, is so highly interesting that I shall, without apology, give it at large in his own words; only premising, that the Author was honoured with the unreserved friendship of his Monarch, and was therefore well qualified to record his private pursuits, as well as his public history: "*Interea tamen,*" says he, "*rex inter bella & præsentis vitæ frequentia impedimenta, necnon Paganorum infestationes, & quotidianas corporis infirmitates, & regni gubernacula regere & omnem venandi artem agere; aurifices & artifices suos omnes, & falconarios, & accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere; & ædificia supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem, venerabiliora & pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere; & Saxonicos libros recitare; & maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, aliis imperare; & solus assidue pro viribus studiosissime non desinebat; divina quoque ministeria, & missam scilicet, quotidie audire, psalmos quosdam & orationes, & horas diurnas, & nocturnas celebrare, & ecclesias nocturno tempore, ut diximus, orandi causa, clam a suis adire solebat et frequentabat; eleemosynarum quoque studio & largitati indigenis & advenis omnium gentium; ac maxima & incomparabili contra omnes homines affabilitate atque jocunditate; & ignotarum rerum investigationi solerter se jungebat.*" ^P

^P Asserius de rebus gestis Ælfredi, p. 43. Vide etiam p. 58.

It is much to be regretted that his necessities prevented him from bestowing a part of his attention on the state of his Coinage, or, more properly speaking perhaps, that they irresistibly compelled him to debase it, for we find Coins of his whose alloy is evidently coarser than the antient standard. To the same cause, it is probable, must be referred the absolute silence of his Laws respecting any regulations of Money, which he could not have omitted to make, had not the peculiar circumstances of his reign precluded the possibility of adopting any measures for the improvement of his Coins. Accordingly his Laws are entirely silent concerning them; and afford no other information respecting the Currency of his time than that it was estimated by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, such being the Coins, or Money of Account, by which the Fines are regulated. The Third Part of a Penny also occurs in them, which could not readily be paid unless there were Money of that value; none, however, has yet been discovered. In the League between Aelfred and Guthrun the Dane both the Mark and the Mancus are to be found^q.

The earliest of his Money exactly resembles, in type, that of his Brother.

His style upon his Coins is either simply AELFRED, or AELFRED REX, or ELFRED M X X; whilst in his Charters it is AELFRED REX ANGLORVM ET SAXONVM^r. The Reverse has sometimes the Moneyer's name, and sometimes a Monogram of the Town where the Mint was placed.

^q Wilkins, pp. 46, 47.

^r Hemingi Chart. p. 43, anno 889.

The places of Mintage were,
 DORO. Dorovernia, Canterbury.
 LONDINIA. London in a Monogram.
 ORSNAFORDA. Oxford.

His Moneyers :

ÆELFSTAN.	DEALING.	IARNRED.
ÆETHELVLF.	DIARVALD.	MANNING.
ÆTHELVLF.	DVDD.	OSHERE.
BEDRERN.	DVINC.	SEFRED.
BERHVUSD.	DVNN.	SIEESTEF, pro
BIARNVLF.	FOLEARD.	SIGESTEF.
BOSA, or	FRANBALD.	TIDBALD.
BOZA.	GINEEF. See	TILEFEINE.
CIALMOD.	HLVILA.	TILEVINE.
CIALNOTH.	GODA.	VILHLM.
CIALVLF.	GODAM.	VVIEARD.
CVDBERHT.	HLVILA^s.	WVLGARD.

On the death of Aelfred, in the year 901, his son Eadward, commonly distinguished by the name of Eadward the Elder, succeeded to the government. Of the state of the Coinage in his reign no legal documents, or records, are to be found; nor do the Historians of his time furnish any information: the little which can be said upon the subject must therefore be collected from his Coins which still remain. On them we see such a variety of types as will justify the conclusion of a very extensive Coinage having issued from his Mints; but no intelligence is afforded as to the particular parts of his dominions in which they were situated. Though there is every reason to believe that not only the

^s HLVILA, GINEEF, occur on the Reverse of a Coin of similar type to No 13, Plate XVI. and seem to be the names of two Moneyers.

Monarchs who preceded, but those also who followed, him, must have coined Halfpennies of Silver, yet it is a curious fact, that of his Coinage alone pieces of that denomination have been found. Two of them are now known; one of which I discovered in the Bodleian Library: some time afterwards another was purchased by Mr. Tyssen, and came with his Collection to the British Museum. Representations of them will be found in Plate XVII. Nos 31 and 32.

In his Laws the Fines are estimated by Shillings alone; but in the Treaty between him and Guthrun, the Danish King, the Mark and Ora are found.

His title, upon his Coins, is invariably EADWARD or EADWEARD REX. The Reverse has his Moneyer's name, but no place of Coinage. The Roman w is always used in his name, though the Saxon F appears sometimes on his Coins. He employed a great number of Workmen in his Mints; and the following names of them have been preserved:

ABBA.	BEANRED.	EADERED.
ADRIIRI.	BEORNERE.	EADMVND.
ADRIIRIFI.	BEORNVVALD.	EADVVALD.
ADVLE, pro	BERHTRED.	EALHSTAN.
ADVLF.	BIORNWALD.	EICMVN.
AEDELVVLF.	BOIGA.	EICMVND.
AEHERED.	BRECE.	ERAMVVIS.
AETHELSTAN.	BRVHTVALD.	EREREFVZR.
AETHELVVINE.	BVGA.	ETHESTAN.
AETHERED.	BVRHELM.	FRAMVVIS.
AETHFRED.	CIOLVLF.	GAREARD.
ALHSTAN.	CVDBERHT.	GRIMVALD.
ATHELVLVLF.	CYNESTAN.	GRIMWALD.
ATHELWVLVLF.	DEORMOD.	HEARDHER.
ATHVLVLF.	DEORVVALD.	HEDVL.
BEAHSTAN.	DRYHTVALD.	HEIENFRED.

*Mr. North
showed to the
Society of
Antiquaries
Dec. 22. 1743*

*a Half penny
of Edward the
Confessor in
good preservation*

*weight
9 1/2 grains
found at Wal-*

ton in Hert-

*fordshire, the
manor of which
was given to
the Priory of that*

*place by the same
King. The profile*

*head of the King
to the right with*

*on helmet on ED:
VERD REX. Rev.*

*VFINGL ON
LVND. See of*

*Antiq. Min. vol. IV.
p. 184.*

*Mr. North states
it as the only known
Halfpenny which had
been appeared.*

HEIOIEBHEIBIOB.	ORDVLF.	VVLFHEARD.
blundered.	OSLAC.	VVLFSIGE.
HEREMOD.	OSVLF.	WALEMAN.
IOFERM.	RAEGENVLF.	WALMAN.
IRFARA.	REGENVLF.	WALTERE.
IVA.	RIHARD.	WARIMER.
MANN.	SIGGOT.	WBERHT.
NEBEIEDHEEIEI.	TISA.	WEALDHELM.
blundered.	VLF.	WEFRED.
NEIOIROHEICI.	VVLFHEARD.	WIGHARD.
blundered.	VVLFGAR.	WLFRED.
NIEICONIOICI.		
blundered.		

Aethelstan, who ascended the throne in 924, on the death of his Father Eadweard, appears to have been the first of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs who ordained Laws for the regulation of the Coinage. In a grand Synod, which was held at *Greatanleage*^t (wherein were present Wulfhelme Archbishop of Canterbury, together with all the noble and wise men whom the King had assembled), it was appointed that there should be one kind of Money throughout the whole Realm^u, and that no one

^t These Laws for the regulation of the Coins resemble a Capitular made by Charlemagne in 819. Mr. North's MS.

The exact time at which this solemn Assembly was convoked no where appears; but it must have been between 928, when Wlfhelme was consecrated Archbishop, and 940, the year in which Aethelstan died.

^u Selden is of opinion that, prior to this Ordinance, every Lord of a City not only exercised the privilege of coining, but also stamped the Money with either his name or his effigies. These practices he conceives to have been entirely abolished by this Law, which required all the Money to be marked with the Prince's name or effigy; with the addition of the name of the Earl of the Province, of the Lord of the City or Town, or of the Moneyer. [Notæ ad Eadmerum, p. 217.]

should Coin but in a Town; that if a Moneyer should be guilty, his hand, with which he committed the offence, should be cut off, and fixed upon the Mint. But if he should be accused, and would clear himself, then he should go to the hot iron, and acquit his hand of the fraud which he was accused of. And if in the Ordeal he should be guilt-worthy, it should be done to him as had been aforesaid. It was at the same time ordained, that there should be in Canterbury seven^v Moneyers — four belonging to the King, two to the Bishop, and one to the Abbot; in Rochester three — two for the King, and one for the Bishop; in London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; the same in Chichester; in Hampton two; in Werham two; in Shaftesbury two; and elsewhere one in the other Burghs^w.

It was at this time, probably, that the practice of stamping the name of the Town upon the Coins became general in the Mints; and it should seem that it began shortly after he ascended the throne, as the greater part of his Money is so impressed. It has been said, by some Authors^x, that this was enjoined by an Edict of his fifth year [928], which

^v Bromton says eight. He gives three to the Archbishop. Col. 843.

^w Wilkins, p. 59. To these Leland adds (*ex antiquo de legibus Saxonum libro*) in Dorcestre 1. [*Collectanea*, vol. III. p. 213.] It is observable that no Coins of this Monarch have hitherto been discovered of Rochester, Lewes, Hastings, Chichester, Southampton, Dorchester, or Wareham; though possibly one which reads *wæ* may have been struck at the last place. Bromton omits Chichester, Hampton, and Werham. Col. 843.

^x Martin's *History of Thetford*, p. 279. Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, vol. I. p. xci.

also required the Moneyer's name to be placed upon the Coins; but of the existence of this Edict I believe no proof can be brought. It is possible, however, that the prohibition, above-mentioned, against coining, excepting within the walls of a Town, might have caused the Moneyers to stamp upon their work the name of the place where it was coined, as, otherwise, it might not have been readily current.

The various types of his Money may be seen in Plates XVII. XVIII. and Appendix Plate XXVIII. On them he is styled either REX, without any addition, or sometimes REX SAXORVM, REX TOTIVS BRITANNIÆ.

This last title is not found on the Coins of any of his predecessors, but was assumed by him at an early period of his reign^a. To it he appears to have had considerable claim, although, strictly speaking; the whole of the Kingdom was not absolutely under his sovereignty. Of the West Saxons he was King by inheritance; of the Mercians, by election^a; and of the greater part of the remainder of Britain by conquest^b. In consequence of this accession of

^y His style in his Charters is much more high sounding. In one dated 929, it is "Ego Æthelstanus, regnum totius Albionis, Deo autore, dispensans." [Hemingi Chart. p. 111.]

In another, of the following year, "Ego Æthelstanus, ipsius [Dei nempe] munificentia basileus Anglorum, simul & imperator regum & nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium." To this Charter he signs, "Ego Æthelstanus, singularis privilegii ierarchia peditus, rex." [Hemingi Chart. p. 441.]

^a A Charter in the preceding note proves it to have been used by him in A. D. 929.

^a Chron. Sax. sub anno 925.

^b William of Malmesbury, folio 26. b. Florence of Worcester places this conquest under the year 936.

power, his alliance was courted by the greatest Monarchs on the Continent^c.

Almost every Coin, or denomination of Money, which was at any time in use amongst the Anglo-Saxons, is to be found in his Laws; for the Fines which are imposed by them are estimated in *Sceat-tæ*, Pennies, *Thrymsæ*, Shillings, and *Mancuses*.

His Mints were numerous, and extended over the greater part of his dominions; but it is by no means probable that one was placed in every Burgh, as it has been sometimes concluded from these general words of appointment in his Law—*Eller to ðam oppnum burgum an*: .^d

His Coins present the names of the following Towns:

BAT. CIVITATE.	Bath.	HEREF.	Hereford.	
DEORABV.	} Derby.	IEECF.		
DEORABVI.		LEG.		
DO. IS.		LEGC.		
DOR. CIVIT.	Canterbury.	LEGCF.		
EAXANIE CIV.	Exeter.	LEGCFE.		
EBORAC.	} York.	LEGCF. BOIG.		
EFORWIC.		LEGE.		
EFRWIC.		LEGEC.		
EIECIEI.		LEGECE.		
EO.	} York.	LEGECEI.		
EOF.		LEGECEI.		
GLEAWAS.	Gloucester.	LEGECEFI.		

} Chester.

^c William of Malmsbury, folio 28.

^d See Hearne's Preface to Johan Glaston. Chron. p. xxix, where he fancies that he had discovered a Mint at Besiles-Lee in Berkshire, which has no other foundation than those general words. The true meaning of the Clause appears to be, that there should be no more than one Moneyer in the other Burghs which were permitted to coin, but whose names were not enumerated.

LEGEEC.	}	Chester.	NORTHWI.	}	Norwich.
LEGF.			NORTHWIC.		
LEIE.	}	Leicester.	NORTHWIE.		
LEIE. C.			NORWI.		
LEIE. CF.			NORWIC.		
LEIG. C.			REORABVI. pro DEORABVI.		
LEIG. CE.			Derby.		
LEIG. CF.			SCEFT. Shaftesbury.		
LEIGE.			SCROB. Shrewsbury.		
LEIGE. CIF.			SNOTENGHAM.	}	Notting ham.
LOND. CI.	}	Lon- don.	STEF.		
LOND. CIVI.			STF.	}	Stafford.
LONDI.			VERI.		
LONDON. CI.			WE.	}	Worcester.
LVND. CIVIET.			WINC.		
LVND. CIVITT.			WIN. CI.	}	Winches- ter.
N.			WIN. CIVIT.		
NORTHWC.		Norwich.			

It appears from his Laws, which are referred to at p. 347, that he established Mints at the following places also, though no specimens of their Coinage have hitherto been discovered:

Chichester, Hastings, Lewes, Rochester, Southampton, and Wareham; and Dorchester also, according to Leland.

His Money also furnishes a numerous list of Moneyers:

ABBA.	ATHELWOLD.	BOIGA.
AELFSTAN.	BARBE.	BOIGALET.
AELFVIENE.	BARIFERDES.	BVRDEL.
AELFWALD.	BEANRED.	BVRNELM.
AETHEIM.	BERHTELM.	BVRNWALD.
AETHELSTAN.	BERNERE.	CENAWA.
ALET.	BIORHTVLF.	CNATH.
AMELRIC.	BIORNEARD.	DEORERD.
ARE.	BIORNVIC.	DEORVLF.
ARNALF.	BOICALET.	DEORVVALD.

DOMENCES.	GIONGBALD.	RAEGENOLD.
DRVHTVALD.	GRIMWALD.	REGNALD.
EADGAR.	HANTICEN.	REGNOLD.
EADSTAIN.	HEREMOD.	RENVLF.
EADVLF.	HRODGAR.	ROTBERT.
EARDVLF.	HVNLAFF.	SIGEFERTH.
EDMVND.	INGERI.	SMALA.
EDRED.	ISNEL.	SNEL.
EFRARD.	LANDAC.	SNELE.
EGIBHRET.	LBERTEE. qu. pro.	STEFANVS.
EGLBHRET.	BERTEEL ?	TIDGAR.
EINARD.	LIFINC.	TIDGER.
ELFVIENE.	MAELDOMEN.	TORHTELM.
ELLAF.	MAGNARD.	TORTHELM.
ERE.	MANTICEN.	TOTES.
ERM.	MEGENFRETH.	WAYLES.
ERTHELWO.	MEGNEREDTES.	WEALDHELM.
ETHELNOTH.	MONTHEGN.	WIARD.
ETHELNOTIN.	MONTHIGN.	WIHARD.
ETRAM.	ODA.	WIHTEMVND.
EWTHELWO.	ODO.	WINELE.
FRARD.	OIANNA.	WITIL.
FROTHER.	OSLAC.	WLFGAR.
FROTIERM.	OTHA.	WLFSTAN.
FVGEL.	OTIC.	WVLFHELM.
GINARD.	PAVLES.	WVLFSTAN.

On the death of Aethelstan, A. D. 940, his brother Eadmund succeeded to the Crown. During his reign, the practice of placing the name of the Mint upon the Money seems to have fallen nearly into disuse; at least a vast majority of his Coins has the name of the Moneyer alone. His Laws contain no pecuniary Fines, nor any thing relating to the subject of our inquiry. Of the Coins which are given in Plates XVIII and XIX as his, those with the head are thus appropriated on account of their resemblance to his brother's Money: those also

Laws of his are extant, nor are any facts recorded, in the histories of his reign, which can illustrate the state of his Coinage.

On his Money he is styled sometimes Rex Anglorum, and at others Rex Saxorumⁱ; but in one instance the Obverse bears EADRED MON. probably for Monarcha. The Reverses of his Coins have the name of the Moneyer, with, in some few instances, the addition of the town where the Mint was placed.

The only Mint yet discovered was situated at NOR.
NORTHW. } Norwich, unless Ax on the Reverse of one Penny should be supposed to mean Exeter.

His Moneyers' names are very numerous.

AELFSIGE.	BOGAES	EARDVLF.
AETHELM.	BOIGAES.	ELFREDES.
AETHELMVND.	BOIGAI.	ELFRES.
AETHELVLF.	CALISMERT, or pos-	ENGILRED.
AGTARDES.	sibly SMERTCALI.	ENGLBRED.
ALSIGE.	CANOERET j.	ENGLEBRED.
ANOERET.	CENBERHT.	EODIN.
ATHELMVND.	CLACMON.	EROTH.
ATHELVERTH.	CRISTIN.	EROVLE.
BALDRIC.	CVLEIN.	FERTHICES.
BALDVIVIN.	DEMENCE.	FRARD.
BALDVVN.	DQRVIF, Probably	FREDRED.
BERNARD.	DORVLF.	FRETHICES.
BERNEEHE.	DVRAN.	FRETHICS.
BERNFERTH.	DVRMOD.	FROTH.
BESE.	EADMUND.	FROTHRIC.
BIORHTVLF.	EADVLF.	GILLES.

ⁱ See Explanation of No 6 of the Coins of Aethelred I. in the 15th Plate.

^j So read by Mr. Southgate on a Coin in the Bodleian Library; but Mr. Wise calls the first letter, which is imperfect, an L, and reading the bottom line backward, makes it TERELA MO. Num. in Scrin. Bodl. recond. Catalogus, p. 96.

GISGEMES.
GISLEHELM.
GISSEMER.



viated form,
a quatrefoil
a soul, an
pull dov
baptizi
sceny
by

Mr. URBAN, *Good. Ang. Sept. 1876* Lothbury, *Ang.*

I BEG leave to forward you a sketch of an unpublished Penny of Eadred, which, among other antiquities, has been recently brought to light within the city of London.

It may not only, as far as I have been able to ascertain, be pronounced unpublished, but in reverse *unique*, and its high preservation greatly enhances its interest and value. The obverse has the usual inscription EADRED REX, but with the head; which is of very rare occurrence, as Eadred's coins without the profile are common. On the reverse we read ALBERT or AEMI, or LEMI, most probably for LEAMINGTVNE, or Leamington, as it is now spelt. Be the town in which it was coined what it may, it differs from any in the scanty list afforded by the coins of this monarch; and the moneyer's name also, I believe, does not occur in the long catalogue of his mint masters. This coin has been sold by its late possessor to the British Museum for 3l., a sum certainly not above its value.

Yours, &c. CHAS. ROACH SMITH.

MANNEN.
MARTIN.
MVNRED, probably
HVNRED.
OEDRHERI.
OSFERD, or
OSFERTH.
SGOD.
WALD.
INE.
LRICES.
HERES.
FIRTH.
LF.
C.
LF.
ABERT.
BERT.
VA.
ERETH.
RES.
TTCALI, or
LISMERT.
SWERELINC.
THEODMAER.
THEODRED.
THEODVLF.
THEOTHRED.
THODABERT.
THRMODE.
THVRMOD.
THVRVLF.
TVLEADREX.
VNBEIN.
WALDFRETH.
WIGERETH.
WILAF.
WILFRED.
WINEL.
WINNELM.
WINVC.
WLFSTAN.
WLFSTN.
WVLFGARES.
WVLGARES.
WYNNELM.

Eadwig, who succeeded his father in 959, affords no information of our inquiry, except that he collected from his Coins.

His style on them is only Eadwi, or Eadwig, Rex^k. A few towns are to be found on the Reverses of them; but in general they have only the name of the Moneyer. His Mints were at

BEDA.	Bedford.	HAM.	Southampton.
EO.	York.	HERE.	Hereford?

^k In a Charter which bears date 956, he is called Eadvvi Rex, nutu Dei Angulsæxna & Northumbrorum Imperator. [Hemingi, Chart. p. 333.]

HVN.	} Huntingdon.	NO.	Norwich.
HVNT.		TO.	
LVND.	London.	WE.	Worcester?
NEVE.		WIN.	Winchester,
NEWE.			

His Moneyers names :

AELFREDES.	DVDEMA.	HERIGER.
AELFSIG.	DVNNC.	LEVIGN.
AESCVLF.	DVNNES.	MANEOD.
AMVNDES.	DVNNIC.	MANEODI.
ATHVLF.	EADVLF.	MANN.
BIRVER.	EFERD.	MANNA.
BOIGA.	EOFERAD.	OSWALD.
CLAC.	FRARD.	THVRMOD.
CVTEL.	FROTHRIC.	WAERIN.
DEORVLF.	GRIM.	WARIN.
DORVLF.	HEREMOD.	WILEBERT.

During the reign of Eadwig, his brother Eadgar usurped part of his dominions, and in 959 took possession of the whole upon his death. At what time he turned his attention to the improvement of his Money is not known, for the date of the promulgation of his laws does not appear. In them he repeated that part of Aethelstan's ordinance, which appointed that only one kind of Money should be current throughout the realm ; with this further addition, that no one should refuse it¹.

But, notwithstanding his care, the Money had, at the latter end of his reign, become so much diminished by clipping, that the Penny was scarcely equal to one Halfpenny in weight ; he, therefore, a short time before his death, commanded new Money to be made throughout all England^m. That this

¹ Wilkins, p. 78.

^m Mat. Westminster, p. 193.

crime had attained to an alarming excess may be inferred from St. Dunstan's refusal to celebrate Mass on Whitsunday, until three Moneyers, who had falsified the Coins, had undergone the usual punishment of the loss of the right hand. This it seems had been deferred on account of the sacredness of the day; but he expressed his sense of their crime in the strongest terms, and insisted upon the sentence being executed immediatelyⁿ. Eadmer's ac-

ⁿ The words of Eadmer are: "Alio tempore Monetarii, tres, qui in potestate viri erant*, cum falsâ monetâ capti ad subeundam pœnam hujusmodi hominibus per totum regnum promulgata sunt judicati. Quæ res a Dunstano abscondi non potuit. Die ergo Pentecostes idem pater Missarum solennia celebraturus percunctatur, utrum Dei populo statuta justitia de ipsis monetariis facta fuerit annon? Respondetur eam ob reverentiam tanti diei in alium diem esse dilatam. Nequaquam, inquit, ita fiet. Monetarii nempe, qui falsos ex industriâ denarios faciunt, fures sunt; & eorum furto nullum nocentius esse cognosco. Nam in falsâ monetâ quam faciunt totam terram spoliunt, seducunt, perturbant. Ipsi divites, ipsi mediocres, ipsi pauperes in commune lædunt; & omnes quantum sua interest aut in opprobrium aut in egestatem aut in nihilum redigunt. Quapropter noveritis, quia ego hodie in sacrificandum Deo non accedam; nisi primo illi qui deprehensi sunt, eam quam in seductione totius populi promeruerunt subierint pœnam. Si enim in ultione tanti mali cum negotium me respiciat Deum placare supersedeo; quomodo illum de manibus meis sacrificium suscepturum sperare queo. Sed hæc licet crudelitati possint ascribi, Deo tamen patet intentio mea. Lacrimæ, gemitus atque suspiria viduarum ac pupillorum, clamor quoque vulgi totius mihi incumbit, & correctionem hujus mali deposcit. Quorum afflictionem, si quantum in me est mitigare non intendo; & Deum qui gemitibus eorum compatitur, nimis offendo, & alios ad idem malum exercendum

* Viri in potestate, according to Du Cange, were men subject to the power of the lord, or, in other words, villeins. Vide Gloss. Homines Potestatis: sub voce Potestates, col. 710. But see objections to rendering Viri in potestate by Villeins in vol. J. p. 132 n. [o.]

count of this transaction is so curious, that I have given it at length.

In his Laws the payments are regulated by Shillings and Pennies only, but in the Statutes Northumbrensiū Presbyterorū, which in the Cambridge MS. are subjoined to them, Oræ and Marks are found^o.

On his Coins he styles himself Rex Anglorū, and also Rex totius Britannia^e P. The Reverses bear

promptiores & audaciores facio. Dixerat, et pro pœna illorum qui manus erant perdituri pietate motus, lacrimis manat; ut satis esset videre de quo fonte procedebat edictum, quod nonnullis videbatur crudele. Ubi vero audivit prœstitutam justitiam factam, surrexit, ac lota facie ad oratorium exhilaratō vultu abiens ait: Quia Deum obediendo statutis justitiæ legibus audivi hodie, confido quod & ipse per misericordiam suam sacrificium de manu mea suscipiet hodie. Cujus confidentiæ effectu privatus non est. Eo quippe inter sacro-sancta Missarum solennia sacras manus extendente, & Deum patrem omnipotentem ut Ecclesiam suam Catholicam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere dignaretur toto orbe terrarum interpellante, nivea columba multis intuentibus de cœlo descendit; & donec sacrificium consumptum esset, super caput ejus expansis & quasi immotis alis sub silentio mansit." Eadmerus de Vita S. Dunstani. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 216. ° Wilkins, p. 98.

P In his Charters he is styled, Basileos Anglorū, et rex atque imperator sub ipso Domino regum & nationum infra fine Britannia commorantium. A. D. 967. [Hemingi, Chart. p. 371.]

Divina collubescēte gratia totius Albionis rex primichariusque. A. D. 969. [Id. p. 559.]

Per magnam omnipotentis Dei misericordiam, totius Anglorū Regni solio sublimatus. [Archæologia, vol. XIV. p. 154.]

Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius, necnon maritimorum seu Insulanorum Regum circum habitantium, adeo ut nullius progenitorum meorum subjectione largiflua Dei gratia suppetente, sublimatus. A. D. 974. [William of Malmsbury, folio 32.]

Anglorū basileus omniumque regum insularum Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarumque nationum, quæ infra

the name of the Moneyer, and also, in many instances, that of the Mint. None of his Money has yet been discovered with Greek in the legend, either in words or in single letters, though the existence of such has been incautiously asserted^q.

eam includuntur, imperator et dominus. [Selden's Titles of Honour, Part. I. chap. ii. § v.]

^q Edgar, upon his Coins, and in his Charters, almost always termed himself Basileus, instead of Rex. [Milner's History of Winchester, vol. I. p. 151, n. 6.]

On Coins of this æra Βασιλεω has been found. [Henshall's Domesday translated, No. I. p. 221.]

To both these gentlemen I applied for further information. Mr. Milner, in a letter dated March 31, 1800, says, "I am forced to acknowledge my inability to recollect, at the distance of three years, the grounds on which I asserted that the word Basileus occurs on some of the Coins of Edgar. It is very possible that my imagination being strongly impressed by the frequency of that term in the Charters of Edgar, I might fancy that I had also seen it on some of that Monarch's Coins. At all events, I will take care (in case I should not in the interim meet with a Coin bearing that title) to efface it in any future edition or editions I may give of the History of Winchester." This is extremely candid and manly. Having, however, occasion to write to him in 1806, on another subject, I begged to know whether he had gained any additional information. His answer was dated Nov. 23 in that year; and in it he says, "I do not recollect what I might have written heretofore concerning the title of Basileus on the Coins of Edgar, but I should have been almost surprized if any other had appeared upon them." He then gives his reason, which is, that Edgar is so styled in his Charters. And the Note referred to above appears exactly in the same form, and precisely in the same page, in the second edition of the History of Winchester, which was published in 1809. Mr. Henshall forgot what was due to himself and to me, and returned no answer to my inquiries; but, upon being questioned by a gentleman, at my request, he quoted Mr. Milner as his authority. I cannot but observe that he was particularly unfortunate in selecting from the History of Winchester Coins, on

The conquest of great part of Ireland, with its most noble city, Dublin, of which Eadgar boasts in a Charter granted by him to the Church of Worcester, A. D. 964^r, has been treated by some as a fiction of the Monks. But although the Charter itself be allowed to be spurious (and it must be confessed that, from internal evidence, its genuineness is much to be suspected), yet it by no means follows that the conquests of Eadgar which it enumerates must necessarily be without foundation. That immediately before us, of Ireland, receives great confirmation from the circumstance of Coins having been struck in Dublin by Aethelred, who succeeded to the Crown of England not more than four years after the death of Eadgar; for it is impossible to show by what means he established a Mint there, unless a prior conquest of that City should be admitted; and it is not even pretended that either he, or his predecessor Eadward, were the conquerors of Ireland. The reign of the latter was much too short to allow of foreign conquests, and that of the former too feeble, and too much affected by Danish incursions, to permit any attempts at an extension of dominion. It has been conjectured that Eadgar

which the word in question is not to be found, and in omitting CHARTERS, in which it so frequently occurs, and which would have answered his purpose. My Readers are now in possession of all the information which it is in my power to give respecting the existence of Coins of Edgar with Basileus in their legends; and I trust they will not think me deficient in candour when I declare that, in my opinion, the statements which have been extracted from the works referred to above, have no other foundation than a want of knowledge of the subject, joined to a warm and incorrect imagination.

^r Hemingi, Chart. p. 517.

did not keep possession of the City of Dublin, but only imposed a tribute upon its king; and that these Coins, with the name of Aethelred, were struck for the purpose of paying it, and as an acknowledgment of dominion and right of protectorship*. But this is to cut, rather than to untye, the knot; and it will require much, and that very evident, proof to induce us to admit that Coins were ever formed with such intentions.

It is probable that there is as little foundation for the tradition that Coins were made of leather at this period. I find it thus alluded to in the Comedy of The Wits:

“ Why this was such a firk of piety
I ne’er heard of: bury her gold with her!
’Tis strange her old shoes were not interr’d too,
For fear the days of Edgar should return,
When they coin’d leather.”†

His Mints were numerous:

A.		EAXANC.	} Exeter.
BATHA CIFI.	Bath.	EAXNC.	
BDFO.	} Bedford.	EFER.	} York.
BE.		EFERVVIC.	
BEDAFO.		ELY.	Ely.
BEDAFOR.		ENT. [probably	} Canter-
CAETWARA.	} Canter-	C omitted]	
CANTWARA.		EO.	} York.
CENT.		EOFER.	
DEORBY.	Derby.	EOFERWIC.	

* Simon's Essays on Irish Coins, p. 8, who has borrowed the idea from Keder's Nummorum in Hibernia antequam hæc insula sub Henrico II. Angliæ Rege, Anglici facta sit juris, cusorum indagatio, 4to, Lipsiæ, 1708, p. 27.

† Act V. Sc. 1. I know not any fact which can justify this allusion.

EOFOR.	}	York.	LVD ^u .	}	Ludlow.
EOFORWI.			LVND.		London.
EOFORWIC.	}	Exeter.	LVNDE.	}	London.
EX.			LVNDI.		
GLEAV.	}	Glouces- ter.	METWI.	}	Norwich.
GIP.			MLTVI.		
H.	}	Ipswich.	NORTHVVI.	}	Oxford.
HA.			NRTHVVI.		
HAM.	}	South- ampton.	OX.	}	Shrewsbury.
HAMT.			OXNA.		
HAMTV.			SCRO.		
HAMTVN.	}		STANF.	}	Stamford.
I.			STANFO.		
INTB.	}		STANFORD.	}	Thetford.
L.			TE.		
LAE.	}	Lewes.	THEOTF.	}	Teign- mouth.
LAEWE.			TIN.		
LE. Leicester, Chester, or Lewes?	}	Lewes.	TINTMI.	}	London.
LEVE.			VN. probably for LVN.		
LEWE.	}	Lewes.	WELEGAFOR.	}	Wallingford
LINCOL.			WENCLES.		Winchelsea?
LINDCO.	}	Lincoln.	WI.	}	Wilton.
LINN.			WILTV.		
LND.	}	Lynn.	WLTVN.	}	Winches- ter.
LND.			WIN.		
LO.	}	Lincoln.	WINT.	}	Winches- ter.
LOND. CIF.			WINTO.		
LOND. CIFITA	}	London.		}	

His Moneyers exceed in number those of any preceding Monarch. The following names have been preserved :

ADELAVER.	AELFNOTH.	AESCMAN.
ADELGER.	AELFRED.	AESCVLF.
ADEN.	AELFSIGE.	AETFERD.
AELFGAR.	AELFSTAN.	AETFERN.

^u Possibly Ludlow.

AETHELFERTH.	DEORVLFES.	GRID.
AETHELRED.	DVN.	GRIM.
AETHELSE.	DVRAND.	GVNNVLF.
AETHEL SIGE.	DVRANDIES.	GVNVERD.
AETHELSTAN.	EADMVND.	HACVF.
AETHELWINE.	EADWINE.	HACVLF.
AETHESTAN.	EALFSIGE.	HREMAN.
ALBVTE.	EANVLF.	HEREMOD.
ALDEWINE.	ELCDEN.	HERIGER.
ALFERTH.	ELFREDES.	HEROLF.
ATHEL AVER.	ELFSTAN.	HEROLFES.
ATHELWINE.	ELFWALD.	HERTIN.
ATHELWOLD.	ENIMOEODIA.	HIGOLF.
ATHVLF.	EOFERARD.	HILD.
BALDRIC.	EOFERMVND.	IGOLFERTHES.
BALDVVIN.	EOROTH.	INGELBERD.
BENETHIHT.	ETTERN.	INGOLF.
BEORMTRIC.	ETHELRED.	IOLES.
BERENARD.	ETHELVINE.	IONAN.
BIRGS.	FARDEN.	IVE.
BIRNVM.	FARMAN.	IVEN.
BOGA.	FARTHEIN.	IVENTE.
BOGEA.	FASTOLF. BOIGA.	IVHAN.
BOIA.	Two Moneyers.	LEGFERTH.
BOIGA. See	FASTOLF. ODA.	LENNA.
FASTOLF.	Two Moneyers.	LENNAM.
BRITFER.	FASTOLF. RAFN.	LEOFRIC.
BRVNINC.	Ditto.	LEOFSIG.
CARTHEIN.	FASTOLFES.	LEOFSIGE.
CARTHEN.	FASTOLFVES.	LEOFSILI.
CAWELI.	FIODVAN.	LEOFWINE.
CAWELIN.	FOLEARD.	LEOFWOLD.
CNAWA.	FREOTHRIC.	LEVIG.
CNAWE.	FRETHIC.	LIOFSTAN.
COLENARD.	FRETHICIN.	LYFINC.
COWMAN.	FROTHRC.	MAN.
CVLM.	FRYTHEMVND.	MANAN.
DEMENCE.	GILM.	MANING.
	GILVS.	

MANIWV.	OSVLF.	THVRSTAN.
MANNA.	OSWARDES.	VIDOC.
MANNEES.	OSWARDTHS.	VNBEIN.
MANSAT.	OTHELRIES.	WINE.
MARCER.	RAFN. See	WINEN.
MARSCALE.	FASTOLF.	WINENR.
MELSVTHAN.	REGENOLD.	WVIFTAN, forsan
MORENVN.	RICOLF.	WVLFTAN.
MORGNV.	RICVLF.	WVLFGAR.
MVWN.	SEDEMA.	WVLFMAER.
ODA. See FAS-	SEDEMAN.	WVLFTAN.
TOLF.	SIFERTH.	WVLGAR.
OGEA.	SIFERY.	WVLSTAN.
OGENAN.	THEODGAR.	WVNSIGE.
OGENANI.	THVRFERTH.	WVNSTAN.
OSMVND.	THVRMOD.	

In the year 975, Eadweard II. better known by the title of the Martyr, ascended the throne on the death of his father Eadgar.

It does not appear that he made any alteration in the state of the Coinage during his short reign, which continued not more than three years; nor are any circumstances relating to his Money to be found in the Historians who have given brief statements of the events during that period.

His style upon his Coins, when it is given at length, is REX ANGLORVM. All of them which have hitherto been discovered are of the same type, and bear on the Obverse an ill-drawn portrait, with a cross patee on the Reverse, around which are the name of the Moneyer and of the Mint.

The places are numerous, and some of them are not found upon his father's Money.

BEDA.	} Bedford.	LIMEN.	} probably	
BEDAFOR.		LIMENE.		LIMING,
CAENT.	Canterbury.	now Lyme or Limnè,		
CASTR.	Qu. Castor in Northamptonshire, or Chester, which is sometimes written Cearcen in Chron. Sax.	in Kent.		
DEORBY.	Derby.	LIN.	} Lincoln.	
E.		LINC.		
EAEX.	} Exeter.	LINCOL.		
EAXE.		LINDC.		
EAXEC.		LINDCL.		
EAXET.		LINDCOL.		
EFE.		LINDCOLE.		
EFER.	} York.	LINDEOLE.		
EFERIC.		LINDEOLNE.		
EFERW.		LINDOL.		
EFERWIC.		LINDOLNE.		
EFERWICA.		LNDCOL.		
EOFORWIC.		LNDLOIG.		
FERIC. pro EFERIC.		LVDA.	} London.	
GIPE.	LVN.			
GLEV.	LVNDONI.			
GRAN.	} Cam-	LVVEIC.	Lydford.	
GRANT.		bridge.	LYDA.	
HAM.	} South-	NIEWEN.		
HAMTV.		ampton.	NO.	
HATVN.			NORTH.	
HERT.	Hertford.	OXA.	Norwich.	
KAENT ^x .	Canterbury.	OXNA.	} Oxford.	
LAEV.	} Lewes?	OXNE.		
LAEVE.			SC. EDMD.	St. Edmund's-
LE.	Leicester or Chester?	STA.	bury.	
LEGE.	Chester.	STAM.	} Stamford.	
LI.	} Lichfield	STAN.		
LIC.		or		STANE.
		Lincoln?		STANF.
		STANFO.		
		STANFOR.		
		STANFORD.		

TANWO. Tamworth? WINT. Winchester.
THIO. Thetford.

His Moneyers names were

ADELAVERN.	FACER.	MEN.
AELFSTAN.	FASTOLF.	ODA.
AELFWALD.	GLONNVLF.	OGEA.
AELFWEARD.	GRIM.	OIA, forsan pro
AESCMAN.	GRIMD.	BOIA.
AETHELRED.	GRIND.	OSVLF.
AETHELWALD.	GVNNVL.	OSWALD.
AETHERED.	GVNNVLA.	RAEGENVLF.
AETHESTAN.	HAFGRIM.	REGENVLf.
ALFWEARD.	HANCRE.	RODBERT.
ALHSTAN.	HANCRENT.	SEHXBVRHT.
BALDDIC.	HANGRIM.	SEHYBYRYHT.
BALDIC.	HEGERED.	STYRGA.
BEMENE.	HILD.	STYRGAR.
BENMENE.	HVSTAN.	SVRNLOS.
BEOLA.	INDOLF.	SWYRELINC.
BERMENE.	INGOLF.	SYRCLOS.
BOIA.	IOHAN, or	THEODGAR.
BVRNSTAN.	IONAN.	VVLfRED.
CNAPA.	ISVLF.	WAGER.
CNAPE.	KNAPA.	WIGFERTH.
COLGRVN.	LEFWOLD.	WILEBEART.
CVLM.	LEOFEN.	WINE.
DEORVLF.	LEOINAN.	WINTSIGE.
DVN.	LEVg.	WLGAR.
DVNIC.	LEVIG.	WVLfEAR.
EANVLF.	MAELSVDON.	WVLfGAR.
EANVTE.	MAFGRIM.	WVLfMAER.
ELFSTAN.	MANNA.	WVLfRED.
ELFSTN.	MANNIC.	WVLGAR.
ELFWALD.	MEGERED.	WVLSTAN.
ESCMAN.	MELSDON.	WVNSIGE.
ETHELN.		

The cruel murder which was perpetrated on Eadweard by the command of his Step-mother placed

her son Aethelred on the throne, in the year 979. He was but ten years of age when he attained the crown ; and his whole reign was marked by a series of actions which betrayed the most helpless irresolution and pusillanimity⁷. Of the weakness of his government the Danes failed not to take advantage ; and in the course of various invasions of his Kingdom extorted from him no less a sum than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand Pounds. It might reasonably have been supposed that the payment of such heavy exactions, the last of which, to the amount of thirty thousand Pounds, took place in 1014⁸, not more than three years before the conclusion of the reign of Aethelred, must have drained his dominions of nearly all the current Coin, and that his Money would, in consequence, be amongst the most rare of the Anglo-Saxon Series. This, however, is by no means the case, for those of the most usual type are by no means uncommon. It is probable this must be attributed to the number of his Mints, which far exceeds that of any preceding Monarch. His Moneyers likewise were proportionably numerous ; and his Laws afford evidence of considerable attention having been given, during his reign, to the preservation of the integrity of his Money. In the Ordinances which were made at Wantage it was appointed, that if a Moneyer should be accused of counterfeiting the Coins, after it had been prohibited, he should undergo the triple Ordeal, and if found guilty, should be put to

⁷ William of Malmshury's words forcibly express the imbecility of his reign : " obsedit potius quam rexit annis 37." fol. 34 b.

⁸ The amount of the different sums which were paid to the Danes is taken from Florence of Worcester.

death; that no man, except the King, should have a Moneyer^a; and that every Moneyer who should be accused should purchase his Law with twelve Oras; that the Moneyers who should work in woods, or elsewhere, should forfeit their lives, unless the King would pardon them^b. In his Laws the

^a Wilkins in this passage renders *mynetepe* by *officinam monetariam*. In the sentence immediately preceding this he translates it by *Monetarius*, as it is also by Bromton. See the following note.

^b Wilkins, p. 118. This working innè puta must, I presume, have been prohibited, not only because it was without the walls of a Town, within which alone Coinage was to be carried on according to the Laws of Aethelstan, but also because the working in a secret and retired place would give opportunity for clandestine practices. As the provisions respecting Money in Bromton's Translation of the Laws of Aethelred differ very materially from those in Wilkins, I shall give them at length, that they may be compared together:

"Cap. XI. Et omnis monetarius qui accusabitur quod falsum fecit postquam prohibitum fuit, adeat triplex ordalium, & si culpabilis sit occidatur. Et nullus habeat aliquem monetarium nisi rex, et omnis monetarius qui infamis sit redimat sibi lagam xij. oris."

"Cap. XXVI. Et jam dixerunt quod nichil eis interesse videbatur inter falsarios & mercatores qui bonam pecuniam portant ad falsarios, & ab ipsis emunt ut impurum & minus appendens operentur & inde mangonant & barganniant, & eos eciam qui conos faciunt in occultis, & vendunt falsariis pro pecunia, & incidunt alterius monetam mundam & non ipsam inmundam, unde visum est sapientibus omnibus, quod isti tres homines unius rectitudinis essent digni. Et si aliquis eorum accusetur, sit Anglicus sit transmarinus, ladiet se pleno ordalio; Et constituerunt quod monetarii pendant & ponatur super ipsius monetæ fabricam, & qui in nemoribus vel alibi similibus fabricant, vitæ suæ culpabiles sint, nisi rex velit eorum misereri.

"Cap. XXVII. Et præcipimus ne quis pecuniam puram & recte appendentem sonet [i. e. respuat] monetetur, in quocunque portu monetur in regno meo, super overhirnessam meam.

Fines are regulated by Pennies, Shillings, Marks, Oras, and Pounds ^c; the latter occur both of Gold and Silver ^d.

The type of his Coins does not appear to have been frequently changed, at least no more than six or seven varieties are known, though his Money is far from being uncommon. One kind of it is remarkable from the hand of Providence being impressed on the Reverse, with the letters A and ω, as it is the only instance in which Greek characters are found on any Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

“Cap. XXVIII. Et diximus de mercatoribus qui falsum & lactum afferunt ad portum, ut advocent si possint, si non possint weræ suæ culpabiles sint vel vitæ suæ sicut rex velit, vel eadem lada se innoxient quam prædiximus quod in ipsa pecunia nil inmundum sciebant unde suam negotiationem exercuerunt, et habeat postea dampnum illud ex incuria sua, ut ab institutis monetariis purum & rectum appendens. Et portirevæ qui falso consentanei fuerint, ejusdem censuræ digni sint cum falsis monetariis, nisi rex indulgeat eis vel se possint adlegiare eodem *sirath* vel ordalio prædicto.

“Cap. XXIX. Et rex suadet & mandat episcopis suis & Comitibus & Aldermannis & præpositis omnibus, ut curam adhibeant de illis qui tale falsum operantur & portant per patriam, sicut præmissum est utrobique cum Danis & Anglis.

“Cap. XXX. Et ut monetarii pauciores sint quam antea fuerunt, in omni summo portu sint tres monetarii, & in omni alio portu sit unus, & illi habeant suboperarios suos in suo crimine, quod purum faciant & recti ponderis per eandem witam quam prædiximus. Et ipsi qui portus custodiunt efficiant super overhirnessam meam, ut omne pondus ad mercatum sit pondus quo pecunia mea recipitur, & eorum singulum signetur ita quod xv oræ libram faciant. Et custodiant omnes monetam sicut vos docere præcipio. & omnes eligimus.” Bromton, Col. 897, 898, 899. It is much to be regretted that the originals of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, which Bromton translated, are no where to be found. By a comparison of them, with his Latin, some passages which are now extremely obscure might possibly be elucidated.

^c Wilkins, p. 118.

^d Id. p. 105.

He is styled on his Money *Rex Anglorum* ; but in his Charters his title is considerably amplified *. The Reverses invariably present the name of the Mint together with that of the Moneyer.

His Mints were placed at

ALE.		CANTWARE.	{ Canter-
ATE.			bury.
BARD.		CEFTEN.	
BATH.	} Bath.	CENT.	{ Canter-
BATHA.		CENTWARE.	
BATHAN.		CIC.	{ Chiches-
BATHON.		CISE.	
BEDA.	} Bedford.	COLN.	Colchester. Saxon
BEDAF.			Colneceartne.
BEDAFOR.		CROBE, forsā pro SCROBE.	
BYCIG.			Shrewsbury.
CAENT.	} Canter-	DE.	
CAENTW.		DEORABY.	{ Derby.
CAENTWA.		DEORARY.	
CAENTWARE.		DEORAY.	
CANT.		DEORBY.	
CANTWA.		DIFLI.	{ Dyflin, i.e.
		DYFLI.	
			Dublin ^f .

* *Æthelred Rex Anglorum* [totius Anglorum nationis, summo rerum opifice largiente, regni gubernacula sortitus]. A. D. 995. [Textus Roffensis, p. 124.]

Æthelred, deifica annuente clementia, gentis Anglorum basileus. A. D. 998. [Id. p. 131.]

Æthelredus Rex nationum totius Britanniae. A. D. 1012. [Id. p. 136.]

Gratia summi tonantis Angligenum, Orcadarum necne in gyro jacentium monarchus. To the same Charter he subscribes, *Ego Æthelredus Anglorum induperator*. [Selden's Titles of Honour, part I. chap. II. § v.]

^f See Appendix, Plate XXVIII. All the Coins of this Mint, which have hitherto been discovered, are of this type, which is commonly called the Irish, from its resemblance to the Money of the early Kings of that nation. The probability that this

DOFE.	} Dover.	HAM. O.	} South-
DOFR.		HAM. VIL. ^s	
DOFRA.		HANO.	
DOFR.		HEORT.	} Hertford.
DOR. Dorchester.		HERFORD.	
E.		HIFI.	
EAXE.	} Exeter.	HVNT.	} Hunting-
EAXEC.		HVNTAN.	
EAXECEST.		HVNTAND.	
EEERWIC, pro		HVNT.	
EFERWIC.		IED.	Jedburgh?
EFER.		IORT.	
EFERW.		LAEVE.	} Lewes.
EFERWI.		LAEW.	
EFERWIC.		LAWE.	
EFOR.	} York.	LAL.	
EFORWIC.		LANSTF ^h .	Lancaster?
EO.		LEA.	
EOFE.		LEGES.	Chester.
EOFER.		LEICE.	} Leicester.
EOFR.		LEIEE.	
EOFRIC.		LEIG.	
EOFRW.		LEW.	} Lewes.
GEPESWIC. Ipswich.		LEWE.	
GIEELC. Givelcestre, i. e.		LI.	
Ilchester.		LIGE.	} Leicester.
GIP.	} Ipswich.	LIGECES.	
GIPE.		LIGER.	
GIPES, or		LIGERCES.	
GYPES.		LIMNA.	Liming?
GIPIS.		LIN.	} Lincoln.
GLEA.	} Glouces-	LINC.	
GLEAW.		LINCL.	
GRANT. Cambridge.		LINCO.	

Mint was established in consequence of the conquest of Dublin by Eadgar has been suggested, under his reign, at p. 360.

^s Another Penny reads HAM VIC.

^h Quonquam satis distinctæ sunt literæ, explicare nescio. Mr. G. North's MSS.

LINCOL.	Lincoln.	NORTHWIC.	Norwich.
LINCOLE.		NORWI.	
LINCOLN.		NR. forsan pro NOR.	Nor-
LINCOLNE.		wich.	wich.
LIND.		OXNA.	Oxford.
LINDC.		RAID.	Reading.
LINDCL.		RINI.	
LINDCO.		RINTO, forsan pro WINTO.	
LINDCOLNE.		RISIC, or	
LINDOL.		RIZIC.	
LINEL.	Lincoln.	ROF.	Rochester.
LNC.		ROFE.	
LONDON.	London.	ROFEC.	
LONDONI.		ROFECE.	
LVD ⁱ .	Lydford?	ROFECs.	
LVDA.		SCEAFT.	Shaftesbury.
LV DAN.		SCRO.	Shrewsbury.
LVDO.		SEARBE.	Salisbury?
LVN.	London.	SFROBBES, pro	Shrews-
LVND.		SCROBBES,	
LVNDE.		STAETH.	bury.
LVNDEN.		STAN.	Stafford.
LVNDN.		STANF.	Stamford.
LVNDO.		STANFO.	
LVNDON.		STANFOR.	
LVNDONI.		STANOR.	
LVNDONIA.		STANV.	Stanwick?
LVTHBY, forsan pro SVTHBY		SVDBY.	Sudbury.
Sudbury.		SVTHB.	
LYDA.	Lydford.	SVTHBI.	
M.		SVTHBY.	
MAELD.	Maldon.	THEO.	Thetford.
MAELDV.		THEOD.	
MAELDVNE.		THEODFO.	
MEALD.		THEOT.	
MEALDE.		THEOTFO.	
MELDVN.		THEOTFOR.	
NORTH.	Norwich.	THEOTFORD.	

ⁱ Qu. Ludlow?

TVRC.	Torcksey?	WILTVN.	Wilton.
VNTj, pro HVNT.	Huntingdon.	WIN.	} Winchester.
WECED.	} Watchet.	WINC.	
WEED.		WINCE.	
WELIG.	} Wallingford.	WINCESTR.	
WELING.		WINCSER.	
WERE.	Wareham?	WINCSR.	
WFEHIA.	} Worcester?	WINCST.	
WIGEA.		WINT.	
WIHR.		WINTCESRE.	
WILT.	} Wilton.	WINTO.	
WILTV.		WINTONI.	
		WINTONIA.	

Moneyers :

AADGAR.	AETHELWI.	BEORNNOTH.
AEDERED.	AETHELWINE.	BEORNVLF.
ALEWINE.	AETHERAED.	BOGIA.
AELFEAN.	AETHERD.	BOIA.
AELFGAR.	AETHERED.	BRANTING.
AELFHEN.	AETHESTAN.	BRESTAN.
AELFMAER.	AEVIC.	BRIHTMAER.
AELFNOTH.	ALFWALD.	BRVN.
AELFRVD.	ALFWOLD.	BRVNSTAN.
AELFSIGE.	ATHELWOLD.	BVRNTITH.
AELFSTAN.	ASVLF, or	BYRHMOTH.
AELFWERD.	AZVLF.	BYRHTNOTH.
AELFWINE.	BALDDIC.	BYRNFERTH.
AERGRED.	BALDIC.	BYRNSIGE.
AETHELMAER.	BEADVLF.	BYRNSTAN.
AETHELNOTH.	BEALDVLF.	COLGRIM.
AETHELRED.	BEGAM.	CVNNAM.
AETHLRIC.	BERHTNATH.	CVNSIGE.
AETHELSIGE.	BEOCAN.	CYNNA.
AETHELWERD.	BEOLA.	DODDA.
AETHELWERT.	BEOLAN.	DODRIG.

j In one quarter of this Coin there is a lozenge, which Mr. Southgate considered to be intended as the mark of omission of a letter, and that the letter H.

DRANTONG.	FEVIC.	LEOFRIC.
DRENG.	FIERIEIH.	LEOFRV.D.
DVDELE.	FOLCEARD.	LEOFSIGE.
DVN.	FRITHEMVND.	LEOFSTAN.
DVNSTAN.	FROSTOLF.	LEOFSTANIT.
DVRAND.	FTSTOLF.	LEOFWINE.
DVRHTMAER.	GOD.	LEOFWOLD.
EADGAR.	GODA.	LEOMAN.
EADMVND.	GODAM.	LIFINC.
EADNOTH.	GODEMAN.	LIOFSTAN.
EADRIC.	GODINC.	LIVING.
EADSIG.	GODINE.	LOFNOTH.
EADSIGE.	GODING.	LYFINC.
EADWERD.	GODMAN.	LYTLMAN.
EADWINE.	GODRIC.	MANGOD.
EADWOLD.	GODWINE.	MANING.
EALDRED.	GODWINEN.	MANNA.
EALHSTAN.	GRIM.	MANNIC.
EALSTAN.	GRIMD.	NIOMNREN.
EDRIC.	GRIND.	ODA.
EDSIGE.	GVNAR.	OGE.
EDSTAN.	GVNNAR.	ONLAF.
EDWECR.	GVNNI.	ORDBRIHT.
EDWER.	HANCRENT.	OSBERN.
EDWINE.	HEAWVLF.	OSCETEL.
EGVIG.	HEREBREHT.	OSCVTEL.
EILAF.	HILDVLF.	OSCYTEL.
ELEBRHT.	HVNDVL.	OSFERTH.
ELESTAN.	HVNDVLF.	OSFRED.
EODMAN.	INGELRI.	OSFYRTH.
EREWINE.	ISEGEL.	OSGV.T.
ETHELRED.	ISEGELL.	OSMVND.
ETHELWERD.	IVLSTAN.	OSOLF.
FAEREMAN.	KYNSIGE.	OSVLF.
FAEREMIN.	LEGFWINE.	OSVERD.
FAERTHEN.	LEOFESTAN.	OSWI.
FARMAN.	LEOFMAN.	OSWIG.
FASTVLF.	LEOFNOTH.	OSWOLD.
FEREMAN.	LEOFNYSE.	OTHGRIM.

OVTHGRIM.	SWERTINC.	VNBEGN.
RAEENBALD.	SWERTING.	VNBEIN.
RODBART.	SWETIN.	VILHEMT.
RODBERD.	SWETINC.	WALTFFERN.
RODBERT.	SWYRLING.	WALTFFERTH.
SAEMAN.	SWYRTINC.	WANSTAN.
SAEVINE.	THEDGILD.	WENGOS.
SAEWINE.	THEODGILD.	WINTSIGE.
SIBWINE.	THVRCETEL.	WLMAER.
SIDEWINE.	THVRCYTEL.	WLMVND.
SIDWIN.	THVRSTAN.	WVELRIC.
SIDWINE.	THVRVLF.	WVLFGAR.
SIGERIC.	TOCA.	WVLFMAER.
SIRED.	TOGA.	WVLFMER.
SITHWINE.	TOGAM.	WVLFNOTH.
SOEMVD.	TVMME.	WVLFRIC.
SVMERLEDI.	TVNA.	WVLFSIGE.
SVMERLETHI.	TVNVLF.	WVLFSTAN.
SVNVLF.	TVPEMAN.	WVLFWI.
SWERTGAR.	VLFCETEL.	WVLSTAN.
SWERTIN.	VLFCETL.	WYNSTAN.

Aethelred fled into Normandy A. D. 1013, and Suein the Danish Invader mounted the throne. Bircherod has given a rude drawing of a Penny of this Monarch, which he decidedly pronounces to be struck in England, but which is, in my judgment, evidently a Danish Coin. I know not where the piece is to be found in this Kingdom, and therefore am under the necessity of copying Bircherod's Plate, which I have done in order to enable my Readers to form their opinion upon the subject. For the same reason I shall give that Author's words at length, as his work is so rare as to be in very few hands: "Est mihi nummus argenteus hujus Regis, cujus unum latus Regem ostendit galeatum, & chlamyde indutum, cum barbâ protensâ & divisâ quæ

cognomen furcatæ barbæ ipsi addidit more antiquissimo septentrionalium, qui a vestitu, capillis, vitiis & virtutibus aliisque corporis vel animi qualitatibus viros præstantiores denominare solebant. Ut in ipso opere plenius demonstratur. Conversionem & religionem crux illa indicat, quam manu præfert loco sceptri. Titulus & nomen regis SVEIN quod luculenter expressum legitur, eodem modo apud antiquos scriptores habetur, utpote apud Adamum Bremensem, in encomio Emmæ Reginæ & aliis scriptis huic ætati vicinis. Quæ in averso latere sunt, quamvis satis clare videri possunt, tamen locum vel castrum quoddam hodie ignotum indicare videntur. In Angliâ cusum fuisse hunc nummum a Suenone extremis suæ ætatis temporibus neutiquam dubito. Solent enim multi imo omnes antiqui Anglici nummi talem, qualis in averso latere est, crucem præferre cum punctulis & ornamentis, quod clarissimum mihi est indicium, alium Suenonem hic non intelligi posse quam hunc, qui Angliam simul tenuit.”^k

Suein died within about seven months after his elevation, and his son Cnut, at the termination of a long contest with Aethelred, who had been recalled by the English Chieftains, and with Edmund Ironside, who succeeded to the throne upon the death of his Father, firmly established himself in the government in the year 1017.

It has generally been supposed that this Monarch coined only in his English Mints, and the following passage in Bircherod's work on Danish Money has

^k Thomæ Broderi Bircherod, Specimen antiquæ rei Monetariæ Danorum, 4to. Hafniæ, 1701, p. 36.

been referred to, in confirmation of that supposition: "Multos hunc Regem longo sui Imperii spatio cuisse nummos verisimile est, nec alios adhuc cernere contigit, quam in Angliâ signatos, ubi plurimo tempore resedit. Inde est, quod Chronicon Norvagicum refert, legatos Canuti ad corrumpendos Norvagiæ Proceres emissos primo verbis omnia fecisse, sed frustra, deinde ex crumenis suis effudisse magnam copiam Anglici numismatis ex argento, cujus nitor oculos horum Procerum perstringebat."¹

But these words are unquestionably not capable of so extended a signification, for it by no means follows, that Cnut never coined in Denmark because he attempted to bribe the Norwegian Nobles with English Money. That he did coin in Denmark is proved by the existence of Money with the title of REX DANORVM^m; it is, however, of extreme rarity.

His Mints in England are more numerous than those of any other of her Monarchs; a circumstance which seems to prove that a considerable influx of wealth took place during his reign. I have said seems to prove, because I have no evidence to show an absolute increase of riches either by commerce or by any other means, and because it is possible that England then became more wealthy only as she was at that time enabled to retain the fruits of her industry unmolested by the rapacious Danes, who

¹ Specimen Monet. Danorum, p. 39.

^m See *Beskrivelse over Danske mynter og Medalier* l Den Kongelige Samling. Kiöbenhavn, in two volumes folio. This splendid and very extensive work contains only two specimens of Cnut's Danish Money; one of which reads CNVT REX DANORVM. A.; the other, CNVT REX DENOR.

for more than two centuries had perpetually wrested them from her.

Whether these numerous Mints proceeded from the pride of Cnut, which might be gratified by their establishment, or were granted to gain the affection of the Towns in which they were placed, or were considered merely as a source of revenue (for the privilege was not wholly freeⁿ), cannot now be determined; but it is probable that all these causes were combined.

In his Laws he provided for the preservation of his Money by ordaining, that one Coin should be current throughout all the Kingdom, and that no man should refuse it except it were false; and if any one should hereafter falsify it, that he should lose the hand with which he counterfeited it, nor should he redeem it with any thing, neither with gold nor with silver. And if any one should accuse the *geþeƿa*^o of giving him permission to counterfeit the Money, then that officer should clear himself by the three-fold ordeal; and if his clearing should fail, he should be punished as a false coiner *P*.

ⁿ Payments for the Mints occur frequently in Domesday Book. See, for instance, vol. I. folio 336. b. where it is stated that in the time of Edward the Confessor the City of Lincoln paid twenty Pounds for the Mint.

^o This *geþeƿa* was, I presume, the chief Officer of the Mint, for the term is equivalent to the Latin Comes, by which the principal person in any office was designated. The connexion of this Officer with the Mint is evident from the context. We still retain the word in our Sheriff, *i. e.* Shire-Reeve, or Head of the County. See in page 369, note, an extract from Aethelred's Law, chap. XXVIII. as given by Bromton, where *portirævæ* should, I suspect, be *revæ*, the Saxon being probably *geþeƿan*.

P Wilkins, p. 134.

The Fines which are imposed in his Laws are estimated by Pounds, Shillings, Pence, Halfpennies, (which occur for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon Laws) and Mancuses of Gold.

Cnut appears to have been proud of his title as King of England. It was scarcely ever omitted upon his Coins; and when, on other occasions, his style was written at full length, the precedence was given to England before all his other dominions^q. It is singular that Ireland is not enumerated amongst the Kingdoms which were subject to him, as he unquestionably had a Mint in Dublin. His Coin which bears the name of that City, on the Reverse^r, does not differ from his most common type, and therefore cannot be supposed to have been struck for the express purpose of tribute, as those of Aethelred II., which resemble the antient Coins of Ireland, are vainly imagined to have been.

That very rare and remarkable Coin of his, with PACX on the Reverse, was probably struck on occasion of the Peace which was concluded between him and Eadmund Ironside, A. D. 1016^s.

His Mints, as has been before observed, were extremely numerous, and their names are always placed upon his Coins together with the Moneyer's. They were situated at

AESCEFTES.	} Shaftes-	BED.	Bedford.
AESCFTES.		BR.	
BATH.	} Bath.	BRI.	} Bristol.
BATHA.		BRIC.	
BATHAN.		BRICE.	
BEATHN.		BRIE.	

^q William of Malmesbury, folio 41. b.

^r See Appendix, Plate XXVIII.

^s Chron. Sax. sub anno.

BRIL. forsanpro	}	Bristol.	E.	}	Exeter.
BRIC.			EC.		
BRIV.			ECX.		
BRV.			ECXEC.		
BRY.			EDFER.		
BRIN.			ELV.		Ely?
BVC.		Buckingham.	EO.		
BVI.			EOD.		
CAD.		Cadbury?	EODE.		
CAENT.	}	Canterbury.	EOF.	}	York.
CAENTW.			EOFD.		
CANTW.			EOFE.		
CEICE.		Chichester.	EOFER.		
CEN.	}	Canterbury.	EOFERW.		
CENT.			EOFERWI.		
CENTW.			EOFI.		
CEP.		Chepstow?	EOFR.		
CES.		Chester.	EOFRI.		
CICEST.		Chichester.	EOFRW.		
CNET.			EOFRWI.		
COL.	}	Colchester.	EOFRWIC.		
COLAC.			EOFRWICE.		
COLC.			EOI.		
COLE.			EOR.		
COLEC.			EORC.		
CR.	}	Crewkerne.	EX.	}	Exeter.
CROG.			EXC.		
CROGI.			EXCE.		
D.			EXCEC.		
DED.			EXECE.		
DEO.			FIM.		
DIF.		Dublin.	FRVC - - - R.		
DOFR.	}	Dover.	GIFELC.		Ilchester.
DOFRA.			GIPES.	}	Ipswich.
DOFRAN.			GIPESCES.		
DOFRENN.			GIPESWI.		
DOR.		Dorchester.	GL.	}	Gloucester.
DTHE.			GLE.		
DYF.		Dublin.	GLEI.		

GLEW.	Gloucester.	LEGL.	
GODWINE-	} Godman-	LEH.	
CAS.		LEHC.	
GRAN.	} Cambridge.	LEHR.	Leicester.
GRANTE ^t .		LEHT ^u .	
GRAT.		LEI.	} Leicester.
GROGI, forsan pro	} Crew-	LEIC.	
CROGI.		LEICE.	
HAM.	Southampton.	LEICES.	
HEO.	} Hertford.	LELV.	
HEOR.		LENC.	Lincoln.
HEORT.		LEW.	Lewes.
HER.	} Hereford.	LHVDA, or	} Lydford.
HEREF.		LHYDA.	
HERN.		LI.	
HEST.	} Hastings.	LIECE.	Leicester.
HESTINC.		LII.	
HREN.		LIN.	
HVN.	Huntingdon.	LINC.	} Lincoln.
HYTHA.	Hythe.	LINCO.	
IRRIVTV.		LINCOL.	
IAECE, or		LINCOLN.	
NIAECE.		LINCONLNC.	
L.		LINDCOL.	
LAE.	} Lewes.	LN.	
LAEW.		LNC.	
LAGC.	Leighton?	LNCN.	
LAM, or		LNET.	
LAN.		LV.	
LE.		LVD.	Ludlow.
LEG.	} Chester.	LVINE.	
LEGC.		LVN.	} London.
LEGE.		LVND.	
LEGER.	Leicester.	LVNDE.	

^t Mr. Combe gives this to Grantham; Archæologia, vol. XVIII. p. 201.

^u Edward the Confessor has this Town, together with the same Moneyer, WVLSTAN. The Coin is in the British Museum. [Mr. Combe.]

LVNDEI.	} London.	SANDVVI.	Sandwich.
LVNDEN.		SCEFTE.	} Shaftesbury.
LVNDI.		SCEFTESB.	
LVNDON.		SCFTES.	} Shrewsbury.
LYDA C.	} Lydford.	SCR.	
MÆLD.		SCRO.	
MEAL.	} Maldon.	SCROBR.	
NEACN.		SEBER.	Salisbury?
NIAECE, or		SEFTE.	Shaftesbury.
IAECE.		SER.	} Salisbury.
NOR.	} Norwich.	SERE.	
NORTH.		SITHE.	} Nottingham.
NORTHI.		SN.	
NORTHW.		SNO.	
NORTHWI.		SR.	} Stamford.
NORTHWIC.		SRO.	
NORWI.		ST.	
OC.	} Oxford.	STA.	
OCXE.		STAE.	Stafford.
OX.		STAN.	} Stamford.
OXCEN.		STANF.	
OXE.		STANFO.	
OXEN.		STANFOR.	
OXN.		STANI.	} Stafford.
OXSA.		STEF.	
OXSEN.		SV.	} Southwark.
OXSENA.		SVTH.	
OXSN.		TANTV.	Taunton.
RANT.	} Rochester.	THE.	} Thetford.
RIC.		THEO.	
RINC.		THEOD.	
RIV.		THEOT.	
ROFE.	} Romney.	THEOTF.	} Totnes.
ROFEC.		THEOTFO.	
RV.	} Romney.	THRIV.	
RVME.		TOTA.	
RVNE.	} Salisbury?	VNTED.	Huntingdon?
SAEBER.		WAERINC.	Warwick.
SAN.		WE.	

WECE.	Watchet.	WIN.	} Winchester.
WEL.	} Wallingford.	WINA.	
WELI.		WINC.	
WELIN.		WINCE.	
WELMIAC.		WINCES.	
WELMIAF.		WINCESTR.	
WERI.	} Warwick.	WINCL.	
WERIC.		WINCS.	
WERIN.		WINCST.	
WESWA.		WINCSTERE.	
WI.		WINCSTR.	} Worcester.
WIB.		WINEOD.	
WID.		WIR.	
WIHRAC.		WIRI.	

His Moneyers^w were,

AEDRED.	AELFWINE.	ASGOVT.
AEFICC.	AELFWIRD.	ASGVNT.
AEFRED.	AELRIC.	ASGVVT.
AEGELWINE.	AELTHWOLD.	ASLAC.
AELFE.	AELWINE.	BEORN.
AELFEL.	AETHELNOTH.	BLACELAN.
AELFELM.	AETHELRIC.	BLACEMAN.
AELFGAR.	AETHELWINE.	BORSTIG.
AELFIGARD.	AETHERIC.	BORSTRI.
AELFNOTH.	AETHESTAN.	BRANN.
AELFRIC.	AETHRIC.	BREHSTAN.
AELFSI.	ALCSI.	BRIHTMAER.
AELFSIE.	ALFSI.	BRIHTWINE.
AELFSIG.	ALFWALD.	BRINWOLD.
AELFSIGE.	ALFWOLD.	BRNTRED.
AELFSTAN.	ANWARD.	BRVMAN.
AELFWERD.	ARNCETL.	BRVNCTAN.
AELFWI.	ARNCTEL.	BRVNGAR.
AELFWIE.	ARNOLF.	BRVNH.
AELFWIG.	ASGOD.	BRVNINC.

^w The publication of the XVIIIth volume of the Archæologia, whilst this sheet, of the first edition, was in the press, enabled me to encrease the List of Moneyers.

BRVNMAN.	EDRED.	FLECTHILFL.
BRVNSTAN.	EDRIC.	FRITHCOL.
BRVNTAT.	EDSIGEWARE.	FRTHIWINE.
CAETEL.	EDWERD.	FRVDIWINE.
CETEL.	EDWINE.	FRYDIWINE.
CETTHEGNWINE.	EGELWERD.	GARTHEIN.
CHYTEL.	EGELWIG.	GEFFEL.
CINSIGE.	EGELWINE.	GIMVLF.
CNIGHT.	EIMVLF.	GINVLF.
CNIHT.	ELBERD.	GODA.
CNOFLNEN.	ELEWERD.	GODEFRETH.
CODERE.	ELEWINE.	GODELEOF.
CODRIC.	ELEWN.	GODEMAN.
COGRIM.	ELFICARD.	GODERE.
COLEMAN.	ELFRIC.	GODMAN.
COLGRIM.	ELFWIC.	GODRIC.
COLLINI.	ELFWINE.	GODRICSWOT.
COLVINI.	ELFWIRD.	GODWINE.
CORLAC.	ELFWVRD.	GODWINECAS.
CRETHEWINE.	ELVARD.	GOERE.
CRINNA.	ELWERD.	GOLDVS.
CROC.	EODALLIA.	GOTCILD.
CROFINC.	EODWINE.	GOTEIL.
CROFL.	ESELWINE.	GOTEILOR.
CRVCAN.	ETHELMAER.	GOTEILTH.
DEGNWINE.	ETHELRIC.	GRIM.
DENGWINE.	ETHELWINE.	GRIMAN.
DEORSIGE.	ETHESTAN.	GRIMOLF.
DRODA.	ETHLSTAN.	GRIMVLF.
DROWA.	ETSIG.	GRVCAN.
DVSTAN.	ETSIGE.	GRVNGAR.
EADELRED.	FAERTHEIN.	GRVRN.
EADNOTH.	FARGRIM.	GVNELF.
EADWI.	FARTHEIN.	GVNLEOF.
EADWIN.	FARTHIN.	GVNREF.
EADWIRED.	FEREMAN.	HATHAN, pro
EADWOLD.	FEREMN.	NATHAN.
EALDRED.	FERENM.	HEL SIRICO.
EDLOIGERARE.	FLATHAN.	HILDOLÉ.

HILDOLF.	LODA.	SHVT.
HILDRED.	LVFA.	SIREO.
HILDVLF.	LVFERIC.	SIRFADN.
HVNEWINE.	MACSVTHA.	SIRIC.
HVNNI.	MAN.	SNELEAR. HAS-
HVVATMAN.	MANA.	NEL.
IFRETHI.	MATTHAN.	Two Moneyers.
IRE.	NATATHAN.	STEGEN.
IVSTEGEN.	NATHAN.	STICOL.
LADMAER.	NIEICI.	STIRCAR.
LANDFERTH.	NIEIMEI.	STIRCOL.
LED --- LE.	NORVLF.	STIRKAR.
LEFA.	ODA.	STRCOL.
LEFENTH.	ODE.	STYRCOL.
LEFOCA.	OMAI.	SVARTCOL.
LEODMAER.	ORDBRIHT.	SVARTGOL.
LEODMER.	OSBERN.	SVMERLIDA.
LEODMR.	OSFERTH.	SVNEGOD.
LEOFA.	OSGOD.	SVNOLF.
LEOFEG.	OSGOT.	SVRITVNE.
LEOFENOTH.	OSGVT.	SVRTINC.
LEOFNOD.	OSMVND.	SWAEGEN.
LEOFNOTH.	OSVLF.	SWAN.
LEOFRED.	OSWI.	SWARTIC.
LEOFRIC.	OTHAN.	SWARTIN.
LEOFSIGE.	OTHBI.	SWARTINC.
LEOFSTAN.	OTHIN.	SWEARTA.
LEOFSVNN.	OTHTHIN.	SWEARTBRAND.
LEOFWI.	RAEFEN.	SWEARTEBRAND.
LEOFWIN.	RICNVLF.	SWEARTINC.
LEOFWINE.	RVLBERN.	SWEGEN.
LEOFWOLD.	SAEGRIM.	SWERT.
LEONCWE.	SAEGWIN.	SWERTEBR.
LEOT ---	SAEMAN.	SWERTEBRAD.
LEOWINE.	SAEWINE.	SWERTEBRAND.
LEOWN.	SEGRIM.	SWILTMAN.
LIFINC.	SEMAN.	SWITHEN.
LIOFWINE.	SEOFINC.	SYWTINEN.
LIWINE.	SEWINE.	THVRGRIM.

THVRIM.	WINEDAEI.	WVLFWIME, or
THVRSTAN.	WINEDAEN.	WVLFWINE.
THVSTAN.	WINTSIGE.	WVLFMAER.
TIDRED.	WITHAN.	WVLM.
TINDRED.	WITHRIN.	WVLMIOD.
TOCA.	WITHRINE.	WVLNOTH.
TOOCA.	WITHRN.	WVLSTAN.
TROTAN.	WVLBARN.	WVLWINE.
VCEDF.	WVLBERE.	WVNSIGLE.
VLF.	WVLFMAER.	WVNSTAN.
VLFONLINC. ^x	WVLFNOTH.	WYNSIGE.
WEDLES.	WVLFRED.	WYNSIGG.
WEDLOS.	WVLFRIC.	WYNSIGIE.
WINE.	WVLFRIMEN.	WYNSTAN.

Cnut had, in his life-time, placed his son Suein upon the throne of Norway, and after his death in 1036 his two other sons took possession of his remaining dominions: Harthacnut ruled in Denmark, and Harold in England.

The short reign of the English Monarch affords no further information respecting the state of his Mints than that which is to be collected from his Coins which still remain. On them he is sometimes styled REX simply, and at others REX A. for ANGLO-RVM.

The name of the Mint, and of the Moneyer, appear upon the Reverse.

His Mints were few in number. The names of the following Towns only are known :

BED.	Bedford.	BRIC.	} Bristol.
BRE.		BRIE.	

^x This Coin has on the Reverse VLF ON LINC ON LNC. PAX. Its legend was copied from Mr. Southgate's MS. and is probably blundered ; the name of the Mint being repeated.

CEICE.	Chichester.	LVND.	
DOFR.	} Dover.	LVNDE.	} London.
DOFRA.		LVNDON.	
DOFRAN.		NOR.	
DOFREN.		NORTH.	} Norwich.
DOFRENN.		NORTHWI.	
EO.	} York.	NORTHWIC.	
EOF.		NORTHWIE.	
EOFER.		O.	
GRAN.	Cambridge.	OX.	Oxford.
ITAA.	} Leicester.	SERE.	Salisbury?
LEIC.		SN.	Nottingham.
LEICE.		STA.	{ Stafford or Stamford?
LINC.	} Lincoln.	STANF.	Stamford.
LINCO.		THEO.	} Thetford.
LINCOL.		THEOD.	
LINCOLN.		THEOTF.	
LV.		VERINCW.	Warwick.
LVD.	Ludlow.	WEL.	Wallingford.
LVN.	London.		

His Moneyers were,

AECMAN.	CONRIN.	LEOFRED.
AEFICC.	DVLCEFT.	LEOFRIC.
AELFEWALD.	DVRACAN.	LEOFWINE.
AELFNOTH.	EDWALD.	LEORIC.
AELFSIGE.	EDWERD.	LEOWINE.
AELFSYGE.	EDWINE.	MANNA.
AELFWIN.	EDWOLD.	SCVL.
AELFWINE.	ELFSHIGE.	SCVLA.
AELFWOLD.	ELFWINE.	SIRMAN.
AELLMAN.	ELFWOLD.	SWAFA.
BLACAMAN.	ETSIGE.	SWARTINC.
BOGA.	GODD.	THVRSTAN.
BRVNCAR.	GODRIC.	WATHERING.
BRVNGAR.	GODWINE.	WITHERWINE.
CAERENAN.	GODWNE.	WITHRWINNE.
CEOFNOTH,	GRAVLf.	WVLCEET.
forsan pro	LEFWNE.	WVLGAR.
LEOFNOTH.	LEOFNOTH.	

On the death of Harold in 1040, his brother Harthacnut was invited to accept the English Crown. His short reign was marked by cruelty and intemperance; and he died in the act of swallowing a glutinous draught.

The name of his newly-acquired Kingdom of England is never to be found upon his Coins; of which some bear his name alone, whilst others have it with the addition of REX.

The Reverses have invariably the place of Mintage, and the name of the Moneyer.

His Mints were at

BRVCS.	Bristol.	LINCOL.	Lincoln.
GLEWECE.	Gloucester.	LINDEIO.	
HERE Y.	Hereford.	LVNDE.	London.
HVNTA.	Huntingdon.	N.	
L.		WAERHICA.	Warwick?
LERE.	Leicester.	WICE.	Worcester.

His Moneyers were,

ÆLFWINE.	LEFENOOTH.	OVTHENCAR.
ASLAC.	LEFSTAN.	RVMERIED.
ETHESTAN.	LEOFWE.	WVLFWI.
GODRIC.	LEORN.	

Edward the surviving son of Aethelred II. succeeded to the throne upon the demise of Harthacnut, A. D. 1042. Immediately upon the death of his Father he was sent into Normandy, where he lived until the time of his accession. From so long a

y Mr. Southgate read this LERE, and accordingly it was engraved in the Plate of Saxon Coins with which he furnished Mr. Nichols for his History of Leicestershire. I have therefore placed LERE in the List of Towns above. But see the Coin in Plate XXIV. No 3, where the first letter of the Town's name is apparently not L. A Penny in Mr. Martin's Cabinet, of Type No 1 in this Plate, reads GOPWINE ON SERE.

residence in that country he was become attached to its customs, many of which he introduced into England^z. Amongst these, it is highly probable, was the oppressive practice of frequent changes of the Coins, which at every alteration gave considerable profit to the Crown. (This, at some period after his reign, settled in a triennial Tax, known by the name of Moneyage, which was paid expressly to prevent those changes; but this payment soon became so unpopular that it was entirely abolished by King Henry I., in the second year of his reign^a.) If the supposition be admitted, that this practice now first obtained in the English Mints, it will account for the great variety of the types of his Coins, which are much more diversified than those of any of his predecessors. Two of those types bear on the Reverse the word PAX, for the occasion of which I shall supply the want of proofs by laying before my Readers the conjectures of an able Numismatic Antiquary, but not without apprizing them, that the part which relates to Harold II. is contradicted by the words of that Monarch, as will be seen hereafter. "The word PAX being to be found only on the Coins of the Confessor, Harold, and William I.^b, intimates it arose from something that had peculiar reference to them. I apprehend it was first on account of the Peace between Godwin, Harold's Father, and King Edward, A. D. 1052; when he granted his *ꝥꝛið* or PAX to the Earl, as the Saxon Chronicle

^z Ingulphus, p. 62.

^a Wilkins, page 234.

^b The Penny of Cnut (which has been already mentioned), and that of Henry I., both with the same legend, had not, I presume, been discovered when the above was drawn up by Mr. North.

informs us. The particular articles of that Peace, Historians do not give us, but it seems as if promise of succeeding to the Crown was part ; for the same Chronicle, speaking of Harold's taking the Kingdom, says it was as K. Edward had granted or agreed with him. Upon this supposition the PAX upon Harold's Coin pointed to the Agreement, which was the foundation of his title. And William the Norman having a like promise from the Confessor, when he was in France, might with equal reason stamp the same word on his Coin, to remind the people on what footing his title stood." ^c

His Laws contain no regulations respecting his Money ; but in the 14th Chapter of them all treasure found in the earth is declared to belong to the King, except it should be discovered in a Church, or in a Churchyard, in which case the King should have the Gold, and one half of the Silver, the other moiety to be taken by the Church where it was found, whether it were rich or poor ^d. In the 38th Chapter it was ordained that no work of Gold or Silver, *of which any doubt could exist as to the propriety of the sale* ^e, should be bought except in the presence of Goldsmiths or Moneyers. And if it should appear to belong to a Church, or to a Treasury, it should not be bought without a pledge, or

^c North's MS. penes Aut. But Harold himself claimed the Crown as the gift of the Confessor in his last moments.

^d Wilkins, page 199.

^e I know not whether that sentence which is given in Italicks represents the sense of the original words, "unde emptor dubitare possit," though I am not aware of any other kind of doubt in the mind of the Buyer which could render necessary the presence of Witnesses.

surety; and if the seller should not be able to give such pledge, then the article, together with that which was to be given for it, should be detained, until the owner of it should appear, or some other person who should sufficiently warrant the same. If any person should make a purchase in any other manner, he should lose and forfeit what he had foolishly bought ^f.

The fines which were imposed by his Laws were regulated by Pounds, Oras, Marks, Shillings, and Pennies.

As his Coins which have been preserved are very numerous, nearly five hundred varieties being known, so the manner in which his name and title are signified upon them is likewise extremely varied, by almost every possible mode of ill-spelling. They have chiefly the initial, or the whole, of ANGLORVM upon the Obverse ^ε; and the circle of the Reverse is filled with the name of the Mint and Moneyer, except in one instance, where SPRACELING occupies the whole of it.

See what is said of a piece turned Half penny of Edward the Confessor, in the manuscript note in p. 345.

He had Mints in

AESTIEN.	Hastings.	BEARB, forsā pro
AMT.	Southampton.	DEARB. Derby.
BATH.	} Bath.	BED.
BATHEN.		BEDAFOR. } Bedford.

^f Wilkins, p. 209.

^ε In one Charter he is styled REX ANGLORVM [Hemings Chart. p. 335]; and in another ANGLORVM BASILEVS [Id. p. 399].

According to a Charter of Inspeximus, Pat. 18 H. VI. mem. 9. ch. 12. part 2, he sometimes styled himself cýning. [Selden's Titles of Honour, Addition to Col. 638. part II. chap. 5. § 11.]

On his Great Seal in Speed is engraven

SILILLVM EADVARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI.

BEDE ^h .	} Bedford.	DOFR.	} Dover.
BEDEF.		DOFRR.	
BEDEFOR.		DOR.	
BEDEWINDE.	Bedwin.		Dorchester * or Derby.
	See Note ^h .		
BEDF.	Bedford.	DORB.	} Derby.
BERDEST.		DORBI.	
BODEFOR.	Bedford?	DORTH.	Dorchester?
BRIC.	} Bristol.	DOWER.	
BRV.		DREB.	
	Bridport.*	E.	
CAENT.	} Canter- bury.	EAD-	} St. Edmunds- bury.
CAN.		MVN.	
CANT.		EFOR.	} York.
CANWA.		EFRDWIC.	
CE.		EFRE.	
CENT.	} Canter- bury.	EFRWI.	} Ayles- bury.
CENTV.		EGELE.	
CIC.	} Chiches- ter.	EGLE.	
CICES.		ENE.	
CICEST.		EO.	
CNI.		EOEFR.	} York.
COLA.	} Colches- ter.*	EOEFRW.	
COLCE.		EOER.	
COLE.		EOF.	
COLECE.		EOFE.	
COLECET.		EOFEERI.	
COLI.		EOFEERW.	
CRANT, pro	} Cam- bridge.	EOFEI.	
GRANT.		EOFER.	
CRECLAD.	Crekelade.	EOFERE.	
DEDEWINDE.	See Note ^h .	EOFERI.	
DEORBE.	} Derby.	EOFERIC.	
DEORBI.		EOFERICC.	
DODTH.		EOFERVIC.	
		EOFERW.	

^h The legend on this Coin may be read either WINDECILD ON BEDE, or CILD ON BEDEWINDE. Mr. Southgate had a Coin which he read CILD ON DEDEWINDE.

EOFERWC.	} York.	EXECESTE.	Exeter.
EOFERWI.		GENIT.	
EOFERWIC.		GIFE.	} Ipswich*.
EOFERWICC.		GIPE.	
EOFERWII.		GIPP.	
EOFERWIIIC.		GIPPE.	
EOFERWS.		GIPSII.	
EOFEWIC.	} York.	GIPSN.	} Gloucester.
EOFI.		GLEAWE.	
EOFOFE.		GLECEST.	
EOFR.		GLEIE.	
EOFRI.		GLEVE.	
EOFRR.		GLEWE.	} Cambridge.
EOFRW.		GLEWECE.	
EOFRWC.		GRA.	
EOFRWI.		GRANT.	} Hastings.
EOFRWIC.		HA.	
EOFRWICC.		HAESTIEN.	
EOFRWICE.		HAESTIN.	} Southampton.
EOFRWIEC.		HAM.	
EOI.		HAMT.	} Hertford.
EOMEQ, or		HAMTV.	
EONEQ.		HEOR.	
EONEOF.		HER.	
EONEQFE.		HERE.	} Hereford.*
EONEORE.		HEREFOE.	
EONER.		HEREFOI.	
EONR.		HEREFOR.	
EOR.		HERTF.	Hertford.
EORW.	York?	HESTIEN.	Hastings.
EOTHE.		HORNIDVNE.	Horndon.
EOTHG.		HTINC.	
EOXES.	} Exeter.	HVN.	
EXCES.		HVNEC.	
EXCEST.		HVNT.	} Huntingdon.*
EXE.		HVNTE.	
EXECE.		IERBIRGE.	Jerby?
EXECES.		IT.	
EXECEST.		LAWE.	Lewes.

LECES.	}	Chester.*	LIN.	}	Lincoln.*
LECEST.			LINC.		
LEG.			LINCC.		
LEGE.			LINCL.		
LEGEC.			LINCO.		
LEGECC.			LINCOL.		
LEGECE.			LINCOLE.		
LEGECECS.			LINCOLEI.		
LEGECEST.			LINCOLN.		
LEGECS.			LINCOLNA.		
LEGECS.			LINCOLNE.		
LEGECC.			LNCC.		
LEGECE.			LV.		
LEGR.	LVAND.				
LEH.	LVDE.	qu. Ludlow.	}	London.	
LEHE.	LVN.				
LEHER.	LVND.				
LEHR.	LVNDE.				
LEHRE.	LVNDEN.				
LEHRECS.	LVNDENE.				
LEHT ⁱ .	LVNDENEN.				
LEI.	LVNDI.				
LEIC.	LVNDO.				
LEICE.	LVNE.				
LEICEI.	LVNI.				
LEICES.	LY.	Lydford ?			
LEICEST.	MAELDV.	}			Maldon.
LEIG.	MELD.				
LEMRE.	NERER, forsā pro HERER,	as it is read by Mr. Wise.			
LENC.	NOP, forsā pro				
LER.	NOR.	}	Nor- wich.*		
LEWEI.	NORTH.				
LGIL.	OCX.	}	Oxford.		
LI.	OX.				
LIE.	OXE.				
LIMNI.	OXENE.				
Liming? See p. 365.					

¹ Cnut has this Town with the same Moneyer WVLSTAN. The Coin is in the British Museum. [Mr. Combe.]

OXENEX.	} Oxford.	STA.	} Stamford.
OXNE.		STAEN.	
OXNEF.		STAN.	
OXNI.		STANF.	
RELHM.		STANFO.	
RO.	} Roches- ter. Romney.	STNE.	} Southwark. Tamworth. Taunton.
ROCEE.		SVTHE.	
ROFE.		TAMW.	
RVMNE.		TANTVNE.	
RYNE.		THEO.	
S. j	} Shaftesbury.*	THEOD.	} Thetford.
SC.		THEOT.	
SCEFTE.		THIDFO.	
SCOB.		THIDFOI.	
SCOB.		THIDFOR.	
SCR.	} Shrews- bury.*	THIODFOR.	} Teignmouth? Tam- worth. Wallingford, War- ham, or Warwick?
SCRO.		THTFO.	
SCROB.		TINC.	
SCROBE.		TONWVRTH.	
SEARRVM ^k .		TONWYRTH.	
SNOTI.	} Notting- ham.*	WA.	} Walling- ford.*
SNOTIN.		WAL.	
SRO.		WALI.	
SROBB.		WALIN.	
SROBBE.		WALLI.	
SROW.	} Shrews- bury.		

j Probably for Shrewsbury, as the same Moneyer, GODESBRAND, occurs on Coins of this Monarch with sc. and scr.

k I have never seen this Coin; but it is engraven in "A Description of that admirable Structure, the Cathedral Church of Salisbury," London, 1774, 4to. It is of the Sovereign type, and reads EADVVEARD REX NGLO. REV. GODRIC. ON. SEARRVM. See page 50 of the account of Old Sarum, where it is said to have been found some years since at that place, and to be now (i. e. in 1774) in the possession of Mr. White of Newgate Street; who discovered from this Coin the meaning of SEA on a Penny of Dr. Mead's, which had puzzled many Antiquaries. Qu. whether it were not made for the express purpose of that discovery?

WARINC.	Warham.*	WIN.	} Winchester.
WI.	Warwick.	WINC.	
WICE.		WINCE.	
WIGER.		WINCES.	
WIGR.		WINCEST.	
WIHER.	} Worcester.*	WINCESTR.	} Winchester.
WIHRE.		WINECSTRE.	
WILT.		WINRE.	
WILTV.		WINTVNE.	
WILTVN.		WIODFOD.	
WILTVNE.	} Wilton.	WIODWOD.	} Winchester.
		WNTVNE.	

To those Mints which occur in Domesday Book as having been worked in this reign, I have added an *.

His Moneyers were,

AECFWERD.	AELFSIGE.	ARBETEL.
AECGWINE.	AELFSINE.	ARCEL.
ÆGELMAER.	AELFWARD.	ARCETL.
ÆGELRIC.	AELFWERD.	ARCIL.
ÆGEWIGE.	AELFWIG.	ARCYTEL.
ÆGLRIC.	AELFWINE.	ARDGRIM.
ÆGLSIE.	AELFWINEE.	ARGRIM.
ÆGLWINE.	AELFWN.	ARNCEL.
ÆIELRIC.	AELFWOLD.	ARNCETEL.
ÆIELWINE.	AELWI.	ARNCGL.
ÆELFER.	AGLRIC.	ARNCTEL.
ÆELFERE.	ALDGAR.	ARNGRIM.
ÆELFGAR.	ALEIF.	ARNGRIMLO.
ÆELFMERE.	ALEOF.	ARNGRIMLOA.
ÆELFNERE.	ALFSI.	ARRETEL.
ÆELFNOTH.	ALFSIG.	AVTI.
ÆELFRED.	ALXXI.	AVTTI.
ÆELFRIC.	ANCETL.	BEORN.
ÆELFS.	ANDERBODA.	} BINRED.
ÆELFSI.	ANDERBODE.	
ÆELFSIG.	ANSERA.	BODRIC.

"*vinus Astardesone fuit quidam monetarius T.R.E.*"

Domesd. p. 532

drichdus fuit monetarius T.R.E." Ibid. p. 533.

inas fuit monetarius T.R.E." Ibid. p. 538.

BOIA.	COLA.	ELFERE.
BRAND.	COLBIN.	ELFHIRE, or
BRAREND.	COLBRAND.	ELFNERE.
BRIHINC.	COLGRIM.	ELFRDD.
BRIHTIVER.	COLSI.	ELFRIC.
BRIHTMER.	COLSTAN.	ELFSI.
BRIHTRED.	COLTSVE.	ELFSIE, or
BRIHTRC.	CONNA.	ELFSIG.
BRIHTRIC.	DEORMAN.	ELFSIGE.
BRIHTWINE.	DICNN:G.	ELFSINE.
BRIHTWOLD.	DIRINC.	ELFWERD.
BRIN, pro forsan	DRYIN.	ELFWIE.
BRIH.	DVDINC.	ELFWIG.
BRITHRC.	DVGRID.	ELFWINE.
BRITHRIC.	DVLINOTH.	ELFWINEE.
BRND.	DVLINNOTH.	ELNOTH.
BRVCHYSE.	DVNINC.	ELRED.
BRVNDWINE.	DVRVL.	ELRIC.
BRVNIC.	DYNWI.	ELSIGE.
BRVNINC.	EADWEARD.	ELSINE.
BRVNMAN.	EALCSI.	ELTAN.
BRVNNIC.	EALDGAR.	ENDRIC.
BRVNVINE.	EARCIL.	EOLA.
BRVNWINE.	EARNWI.	EOLTSNE.
BRYNWINE.	EDAERD.	ERNCIL.
BVLERED.	EDELIC.	ERNCITEL.
BVREDNE.	EDMAER.	ERNCYTE.
CEFTEL.	EDRIC.	ERNCYTEL.
CEOCA. See	EDWERD.	ERNGRIM.
GODWINE.	EDWI.	ESTMVND.
CEOFTAN.	EDWIEG.	ESTNVND.
CEOLA.	EDWINE.	ETHELWINE.
CETEL.	EDWN.	ETSIGE.
CETELI.	EIELRIC.	ETVRCOL.
CEWINE.	EIELWINE.	FROM.
CILD.	ELESIGE.	FROMA.
CITGIL.	ELESISE.	GARNWI.
CLEWINE.	ELEWINE.	GODELFOLD.
COL.	ELFER.	GODERIC.

GODESBRAD.	IOLA.	MAN.
GODESBRAND.	IOLAA.	MANWINE.
GODMAN.	IOLANA.	MORRE.
GODRAC.	IOLAON.	ODGRIM.
GODRIC.	IOLE.	OSFERTH.
GODRICC.	IORA.	OSMAER.
GODRICO.	IOREL.	OSMVND.
GODRICON.	IVGBTEL.	OSWARD.
GODSBRAND.	IVRELEL.	OSWOLD.
GODSVNV.	LEFCTCL.	OTHAN.
GODWIN.	LEFNNATH.	OTHBEN.
GODWINE.	LEFONOTH.	OTHBEORN.
GODWINE. CEOCA.	LEFWINE.	OTHBERN.
Two Moneyers. *	LEGOFREDE.	OTHBORN.
GODWNE.	LEGOFWENE.	OTHEN.
GOLA.	LEOCRINE.	OTHGRIM.
GOLTSINE.	LEOFDAEG.	OTHIN.
GOLTSVE.	LEOFENOTH.	OTHOLF.
GOTHRIC.	LEOFNOTH.	OTWINE.
GOTHRICC.	LEOFRED.	OVDBEARN, or
GRMOLF.	LEOFRIC.	OVTHBEARN.
GVTHORT.	LEOFRINE.	OVTHGRIM.
HAERRED.	LEOFTHEG.	OVTHVLF.
HARLIN.	LEOFWINE.	OVTHWVLF.
HEATHEWVLE, pro	LEOFWOLD.	RAEFEN.
HEATHEWVLF.	LIFERE.	RAEFN.
HVSCALR.	LIFINC.	RAFEN.
HVSCAR.	LIFINCC.	RIACMAN.
HVSCARL.	LIFING.	RVLGNR.
HVSRALR.	LIFRED.	SAEFVCEF.
IOCCETEL.	LIFSTAN.	SAEFVCEL.
IOCETEL.	LIFWINE.	SAEFVCER.
IOCETL.	LIOFFNOTH.	SAEFVGEL.
IOCITEL.	LIOFINC.	SAEFVHEL.
IOCTEL.	LIOFRED.	SAEWINE.
IOCTL.	LIOFSTAN.	SCVLA.
IOKEL.	LIOFWINE.	SCVLAA.
IOKETEL.	LIOFWOLD.	SCVLAE.
IOKTEL.	LOELRIE.	SCVLE.

* Not two moneyers. The Liber Winton. p. 592 says
 "Socche fuit T. R. E. magister monetarius that is
 in chester."

SEFDHEL.	THOR.	WINTERFVGL.
SEFVEL.	THORCTEL.	WINTERFVHEL.
SEFVHEL.	THORR.	WINTERFVHL.
SEFYHEL.	THVRCIL.	WVDEMAN.
SENEBRN.	THVRECIL.	WVDVNAM.
SEWINE.	THVRGRIM.	WVLBEREN.
SICAC.	THVRNGRIM.	WVLBRN.
SIETINR.	THVRRIM.	WVLДАР.
SNAEBORN.	THVRRIN.	WVLENMOTH.
SNAERORN.	TOLSI.	WVLENNOTH.
SNEBEARN.	TVRGRIM.	WVLF.
SNEBORN.	VLC.	WVLFCE TL.
SNEBRN.	VLF.	WVLFGAR.
SPRACALNG.	VLFCEETEL.	WVLFGEAT.
SPRACELING ¹ .	VLFCEL.	WVLFINE.
SPRATELING.	VLFCETEL.	WVLFMAER.
SPROT.	VLFCIL.	WVLFMOTH.
STIRCOL.	VLFCTEL.	WVLFRARD.
STIRCOLL.	VLFCTL.	WVLFRED.
STVRCOL.	VLFCVTEL.	WVLFRIC.
STYRCOL.	VLFCYTEL.	WVLFSI.
SWAETCOL.	VLFE	WVLFWARD.
SWARCOLF.	VLFEIL.	WVLFWIG.
SWARTCOL.	VLFF.	WVLFWINE.
SWEART.	VLKETL.	WVLGAR.
SWEARTCOL.	VNOLF.	WVLINDE.
SWEARTINC.	VVLFGARR.	WVLMAER.
SWEARTING.	WICINC.	WVLNOTH.
SWERTCOL.	WICING.	WVL SI.
SWERTINC.	WIGMAER.	WVLSIGE.
SWETHAN.	WILGRIP.	WVLSTAN.
SWETMAN.	WINDECILD. See	WVLWI.
SWOTA.	BEDE in the list	WVLWIN.
SWRTCOL.	of Mints.	WVLWINE.
SWRTINC.	WINTERFVHEL.	W-RWIN.
SWRTING.	WINTERFVGEL.	

On the death of King Edward, in 1066, four

¹ This in one instance has no name of Mint added to it.

competitors appeared for the Crown of England: these were, Harold Earl Godwin, Tostig his brother, the King of Norway, and William Duke of Normandy. The nature of the claim of Tostig and the King of Norway is not stated; but both Harold and William deduced their title from the gift of the deceased Monarch. The justice of their respective pretensions cannot now be ascertained, as the contradictory testimony of Historians seems, on this occasion, to have been dictated not by the spirit of truth, but by that of party.

Harold availed himself of the advantage which he derived from being in England when the throne became vacant, and immediately assumed the sovereignty, in such haste that he would not wait for the meeting of the States of the Realm, which had been convened at the accession of several preceding Monarchs ^m.

What he so boldly assumed he as gallantly defended against the attempts of the other Claimants, two of whom, Tostig and the King of Norway, were defeated by him and slain. The victory over these, however, so much weakened his powers, that he was unable to withstand the attack of the Duke of Normandy, and fell in the contest, having reigned little more than nine months.

During his short-lived sovereignty he seems to have been studious to perpetuate his memory by frequent Coinages, for his Mints were numerous, and his Coins are far from being uncommon. Three different types of them, all the varieties that are known, are engraven in Plate XXVI. That they

^m Carte, vol. I. p. 356.

are rightly appropriated to this Monarch appears highly probable, from their resemblance to the Obverse of the most common of the Conqueror's Penniesⁿ; and from the circumstance of their having been frequently discovered together with Coins of that Monarch, and of Edward the Confessor, without the mixture of any others^o.

They have on the Obverse his name and title as King of England, and the Reverse bears the Moneyer's name and the place of Mintage. All of them have PAX across the centre^p; which has been supposed to allude to the Peace which Edward the Confessor granted to him and to his father Earl Godwin in 1052, and which Mr. North thinks to have formed the foundation of Harold's claim to the Crown^q. This explanation, however, is contradicted by the words of Harold's Message to William, in which he acknowledged that Edward the Confessor did once appoint him to be his heir of the Kingdom of England, and that he [Harold] had ratified that succession to him in Normandy; but that his own title to the Kingdom rested upon a Grant made to him by the Confessor in his last moments; which kind of bequest had, ever since the time in which St. Augustine visited this Island, always been considered as paramount to every other preceding gift^r.

ⁿ See English Coins, Plate I. No 7.

^o In 1739 a large quantity of them was found at Dymchurch in Romney Marsh; and the same in 1774 near St. Mary Hill Church in London. No other Coins were found with either of these parcels. [Archæologia, vol. IV. p. 356.]

^p See Plate XXVI.

^q See page 389, in the account of the Coins of Edward the Confessor.

^r Duchesne, Hist. Normannorum Scriptores, p. 200.

Of this donation, made by Edward *in extremis*, I believe there is no other evidence to be found than this Message of Harold; which must be received with caution, as living witnesses of a transaction of such importance ought to have been produced, and the justice of the claim should not have been suffered to depend solely on the assertion of the claimant. But it is probable that the equity of the title was esteemed to be of little consequence by either of the parties, who endeavoured only to make out a plausible case, and left the decision to the sword; which determined in favour of William, after a severe conflict at Hastings.

Harold had Mints at

AEST.	Hastings.	CON.	
AESTR.		DO.	Dover?
BEDE.	} Bedford.	EFR.	} York.
BEDEF.		EO.	
BEDEFO.		EOF.	
BEDEFO.		EOFER.	
BRI.	} Bristol.	EOFERW.	
BRIC.		EOFERWI.	
BRVCC.		EOFR.	
BRVCCE.		EOFRI.	
BRVCCI.		EOFRW.	
BRVCI.			
CA.	} Canter-	EOI.	} Exeter.
CAN.		EON.	
CANTI.	} Chichester?	EXE.	
CEICESLA.		EXEC.	
CICE.	} Chiches-	EXECES.	
CICEI.		EXECESTR.	
CICES.		EXECESTRE.	
COL.	} Colches-	GIFE.	} Ilchester.
COLEC.		GIFEL.	
COLEIGST.		GIFLI.	
COLNCEST.		GIPN.	
			Ipswich.

GLE.	}	Glouces- ter.	OXENFO.	Oxford.		
GLEAWE.		}	South- ampton.	RVMEI.	Romney.	
GLEGEC.			}	Hereford.	SCEFTES.	Shaftesbury.
HA.	}			Hunting- don?	SNOT.	Notting- ham.
HAMPT.		}		Leicester.	SNOTIN.	Shrewsbury.
HAMT.			}	Lewes.	SNOTN.	}
HERE.	}			Lincoln.	SR.	
HEREFOR.		}		Lincoln.	STA.	
HEREFORD.			}	Lincoln.	STAI.	}
HVMID.	}			Lincoln.	STAN.	
HVNED.		}		Lincoln.	STANE.	
HVNIED.			}	Lincoln.	STANF.	}
ITV.	}			Lincoln.	STANI.	
LEHRE.		}		Lincoln.	STENI.	
LEWEEI.			}	Lincoln.	TAN.	}
LIN.	}			Lincoln.	Tamworth, or	
LINC.		}		Lincoln.	Taunton. See WIL-	
LINCO.			}	Lincoln.	LIAM I.	}
LINCOI.	}			Lincoln.	THEOT.	
LINCOL.		}		Lincoln.	THEOTF.	
LINGO.			}	Lincoln.	THEOTI.	}
LINI.	}			Lincoln.	WALI.	
LLEGEC.		}		Lincoln.	WALIN.	
LV.			}	Lincoln.	WEARWI.	}
LVN.	}			Lincoln.	WI.	
LVND.		}		Lincoln.	WIHRI.	
LVNDE.			}	Lincoln.	WILT.	}
LVNDEI.	}			Lincoln.	WILTIA.	
LVNDEN.		}		Lincoln.	WILTV.	
LVNDI.			}	Lincoln.	WILTVN.	}
LVNI.	}			Lincoln.	WIN.	
MALI.		}		Lincoln.	WINCE.	
NOR.			}	Lincoln.	WINRI.	}
NORI.	}			Lincoln.	WITNI.	
OMSTENI.		}		Lincoln.	WITV.	
OX.			}	Lincoln.	WILT.	}
OXENCA.	}			Lincoln.	WLTL.	
		}		Lincoln.	WN.	

His Moneyers were,

AEGLOWINE.	EDWINE.	ROSCETF.
AELFGEAT.	ELFWINE.	ROTCETF.
AELFWI.	EOFRED.	SAEWINE.
AELFWINE.	ERNCEDEL.	SEHTWINE.
AELFWOLD.	FOLRIC.	SMARTLING.
AGAMVND.	FORNA.	SNAEBEORN.
ALDGAR.	FORTHA.	SNEBEORN.
ALEOF.	GEREFIN.	SNEWINE.
ALFRIED.	CODESBRAND.	SPRACELING ^s .
ALFWOLD.	CODESBRANT.	SVTERE.
ALGAR.	GODRIC.	SWARTCOL.
ALMER.	GODRIE.	SWARTING.
ALXXI.	GODWINE.	SWEARTCOL.
ANWERBODE.	GOLDMAN.	SWEARTING.
BLACEMAN.	IOCETEL.	SWEARTLING.
BRIHTRIC.	IOCETL.	SWETMAN.
BRIHTWI.	IOCITEL.	THEODRED.
BRIHTWOLD.	LEISINC.	THVRCIL.
BRVNWINE.	LEOFRIC.	THVRGOD.
BVRCIL.	LEOFSI.	VLFCETEL.
BVREWINE.	LEOFSINE.	VRSTAN.
CENTWINE.	LEOFWINE.	WIFINC.
CEORL.	LEOFWOLD.	WINNE.
COLMAN.	LIFINC.	WNLFGREAT.
COLRIC.	MANNA.	WVLFGREAT.
DERMON.	OLWOLD.	WVLFI.
EADWARD.	OVTHBEARN.	WVLFMAER.
EASTNER.	OVTHGRIM.	WVLFMAR.
EDRIC.	OVTHVLF.	WVLFVARD.

^s This name is a corruption of Sprakeleg, as appears from the following passage: "Sueno vero ex Estritha, aliis Margareta cognomine Estrith, & Ulfere Adamo Bremensi Wolf, Angliæ Duce vel ut aliis placet, comite, cognomento Sprakeleg, pro quo corrupte apud Rogerium & Wigorniensem legitur Sprallingi & Spraclingi, genitus est. Ernstius in notis ad Geneal. Reg. Dan. p. 75." [Gesta & vestigia Danorum extra Daniam, tom. II. p. 153. Lipsiæ & Hafniæ, 3 tom. 8vo. 1741.]

WVLFW.	WVLFWVRD.	WVLMAER.
WVLFWARD.	WVLGAR.	WVLMER.
WVLFWI.	WVLLMIRD.	ZENTWINE.

WILLIAM I.

1066. The decisive battle of Hastings established the Conqueror on the throne of England in this year. But the wily Norman was too well acquainted with human nature to rest his title to the sovereignty on the right of conquest alone; which, he was aware, would be much more disgusting to the minds of his new subjects than even a groundless and pretended claim to a legal succession could be. With this view he affected to consider himself as the lawful heir of Edward the Confessor^t; and, in a short time after his accession, solemnly ratified the Laws by which that Monarch had governed his Kingdom^w. By various arts he endeavoured to persuade the English that he looked upon them as his natural subjects, and not as a conquered people^x.

^t Soon after his landing, he "made proclamacions and cryes, that no man should take any prayes, or doo any force to the people. For he sayde that it was reasonable that he shoulde spare that thinge that should be his owne." *Fabian's Chronicle*, vol. 1, p. 295. In his Charters he styles himself *Ego Willielmus Dei gratiâ Anglorum hæreditario jure factus*. *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. I. p. 44.

^w *Ingulphus*, p. 88.

^x In *Domesday Book*, whenever it is necessary to notice the time when William arrived in England, it is always in this manner — *Postquam [or antequam] Rex W. venit. [or venisset] in Anglia*; as if he had come to his own without any opposition^{*}.

^{*} The accurate eye of Mr. Ellis has been able to discover no more than one instance to the contrary. It occurs in the second volume, folio 124. b.—*p' q' W. rex co'q'siuit anglia'*: and even in that folio we find *p' qua' rex W. uen' in anglia' t'ra'*.

Of all these arts, none was perhaps more effectual than the manner in which he conducted the Coinage of his new Kingdom: for as the produce of his Mints was perpetually passing before their eyes, it was most obvious to them to remark, that no innovation had been made in a point so essential to their welfare. Such was his attention in this respect, that his Coins not only resembled those of Harold in weight and fineness, but some of them correctly imitated the type of that Monarch's Pennies^y. This mode of Coinage, it is highly probable, was continued during the greater part of his reign, for the Money with that impression is by far the most common of all the Coins which are usually attributed to him. But however that may be, it is evident, from his Coins which are still preserved, that the old Standard remained unaltered by him, even in the latter part of his reign, when he became more severe in his government of his English subjects. This adherence to the weight of the Saxon Penny will appear to be very extraordinary when we consider that he introduced the French mode of computation by Shillings of twelve Pennies: and can be ascribed only to a refined policy, which forbade an alteration, the effect of which would immediately be perceived by his new subjects.

And it appears, from the same Record, that he made but little alteration in the antient Laws and Customs which prevailed in the Cities and Boroughs in the time of Edward the Confessor.

^y English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 7, and Supplement, Plate I. No 4. The various Coins, and denominations of Money, which were at this time in use, may be seen in the Appendix; where extracts from Domesday Book, and other authentick Records, will not only show them, but also the various modes of entering payments at that early period.

Mr. Carte says that the oppressive Norman Tax, called Moneyage, or a duty of twelve Pence to be paid by almost all persons, every third year, that the Money should not be altered, was brought in at the Conquest; and states, as the cause for the clamour which was raised against it in the early part of the reign of King Henry I., and which then occasioned its abolition, the numberless prosecutions with which Ralf Flambard harassed all sorts of persons, and which had produced an infinite number of fines, mulcts, and debts in the Exchequer^a. But it is by no means certain that this Tax was introduced into England by William the Conqueror; indeed the prosecutions carried on by Ralph Flambard rather favour the suspicion that the necessities of Rufus were the cause of its institution, or at least of its rigid enforcement; for there is no proof existing that Flambard was Justicier until the commencement of his reign^a. To the ill advice of this person, likewise, other exactions, unknown before the reign of Rufus, are ascribed by Historians^b. The great wealth which William I. possessed seems to place him above the temptation to exact so unpopular a payment. According to Ordericus Vitalis, his daily income, arising from his rents in England, was reported to be M.LX. lb. xxx sol. i d. ob.^c; which, if calculated according to the efficacy of Money at that period, when a Quarter of Wheat might be bought for three Shillings (such, at least,

^a Carte, vol. I. p. 482.

^a Henry Huntingdon, p. 378. Hoveden, p. 468.

^b Of this kind was the taking possession of the temporalities during the vacancy of Bishopricks, &c. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 678.

^c Page 523.

was the price in the reign of his successor), will give an annual income equal to nearly fifteen millions of our present Money ^d

In his Laws we do not find any express provisions respecting his Money, but only the general words that all weights should be exact and stamped, in like manner as his worthy predecessors had appointed ^e.

Although his Coins are, at this time, by no means extremely rare, yet they were so until the beginning of the 18th century, when, after a dreadful fire which burnt many houses in Upper Ouse-Gate, in the city of York, in the year 1703-4, a small oak box, containing about 250 Pennies of the two Williams, was discovered on digging a deep foundation for a new building ^f. Before this discovery, the utmost diligence of that indefatigable Collector,

^d This calculation is formed upon the different value of the Quarter of Wheat. In the reign of William I. it is supposed to have been worth three Shillings, and at this time [1810] five Pounds eight Shillings, or thirty-six times as much. Baron Maseres, however, adopts a very different mode of estimation, which adds greatly to the result. He first multiplies 1061. 10. 1½ by three, which is the difference of the Silver contained in that number of Pennies in the Conqueror's time and at the present day. He then estimates the value of that Money at twenty times what it now is, and thus brings the total to more than £23,000,000. [Historiæ Anglicanæ Selecta Monumenta, p. 258, note n.] But this method of calculation is, I believe, erroneous. In estimating the Conqueror's income we are not to take into consideration the quantity of Silver which the Penny then contained, but the efficacy of that Coin when applied to the purchase of any article, which is supposed, above, to be as 36 to 1 of our present Money.

^e Wilkins, pp. 217 and 228.

^f Thoresby's Leeds, page 349.

Thoresby, could procure no more than two of them.

In his Laws the Fines are regulated by Pounds, Oras, Marcs, Shillings, and Pence. The Shillings are sometimes expressly stated to be English Shillings of four Pennies each ^g. But in Domesday Book various other Coins, or denominations of Money, are to be found: such as, the Mite, Farthing, Halfpenny, Marc of Gold and of Silver, Ounce of Gold, and Marsum ^h. There seems also to have been current a Coin of the value of Half a Farthing, which was probably the same as the Mite above-mentioned ⁱ.

Of all these the Penny is the only Coin which has descended to our times.

As the Pennies of the two Williams have no distinguishing mark, it is not possible to appropriate all of them to their respective Sovereigns with absolute certainty. Those, however, which resemble the Money of Harold ^k may, without hesitation, be given to William I.; as may those with PAX ^l; for the

^g Wilkins, p. 221.

^h See Appendix, Entries of various Payments in Domesday Book.

ⁱ Domesday Book, vol. II. folio 171. b. At his accession he doubtless found all those Coins in circulation which have been enumerated as the currency of the Anglo-Saxons. In the course of his reign, however, some of the denominations of Money, which that people adopted, seem to have fallen into disuse; for in Domesday Book, where an almost infinite variety of entries of money payments occurs, they are not to be found: as appears from the enumeration above. But perhaps this argument must not be admitted without some allowance, for if Camden be correct, Byzantines were in use during his reign, though they are not mentioned in that Record. [Remains, p. 236, 7th edition.]

^k English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 7, and Supplement, Plate I. No 4.

^l English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 4.

insertion of which on the Coins of Rufus no reason can be assigned^m.

Those which are marked with one or two Stars on the Obverseⁿ may, I think, with propriety be assigned to the second William, because those ornaments are to be found upon his Great Seal. The rest, which are still unappropriated, I would give to William I., because his reign was extended to nearly double the length of that of his son, and therefore it is probable that his Coinage was the most extensive. This probability is much strengthened by the prodigious wealth which was found in the Conqueror's Treasury after his death, and by the poverty of his successor^o.

The Coins which are here attributed to William I. have on the Obverse his name and title as King, with the addition of some of the leading letters of ANGLORVM^p; and on the Reverse the name of the Moneyer, together with the place of Mintage. On

^m See in page 399 an attempt to explain this word on the Coins of Edward the Confessor, &c. &c.

ⁿ English Silver Coins, Plate I. Nos 9, 10, and 11, and Supplement, Plate I. No 2, and Plate II. No 1.

^o This arrangement had the sanction of the late Mr. Southgate, and is, I believe, used by most modern Medalists.

In the Treasury at Winchester was found sixty thousand Pounds of Silver, besides Gold, Jewels, &c. [Bromton, Col. 983.]

^p In his Charters he is styled Anglorum Basileus [Whitelock's Speech in Parliament, Nov. 22, 1650. Parl. Hist. vol. XIX. p. 428], or Rex Anglorum [Mon. Anglic. vol. I. p. 44.] The inscription on his Great Seal is,

Obverse,  HOL · ANGLIS · RELEM · SIGNO · FATEA-
RIZ · EVNDEM.

Reverse, HOL · NORMANNORVM · WILLELMVM · NOSSES ·
PATRONVM · SI. [See Sandford and Speed.]

all these the Saxon *F* is invariably used, but the Roman *w* upon his Great Seal.

These Coins do not exhibit any great variety of types, but the Mints are numerous, and extend over the greater part of England^q, as will appear from the following List^r. — N. B. Those marked * are to be found in Domesday Book. Where the name is in small Roman letters it shews that no Coins are known of that Mint. The names with † prefixed are from Snelling's MS Additions to his View of the Silver Coinage.

Æ.		ASTI.	Hastings.
ÆAST.	Hastings.	BATHE.	Bath. *
ÆI.		BEDEF.	} Bedford.
ÆSH.		BEDEFORD.	
ÆST.	} Hastings.	BR.	
ÆSTI.		BRELIS.	

^q None have yet occurred of his foreign dominions, except that which reads on the Reverse N. IVLIOBINA, and is conjectured, by Dr. Ducarel, to have been struck at Lillebone, a considerable Town in the Diocese of Rouen*, where William held a Provincial Council in the 15th year of his reign, A. D. 1080. [Ducarel's Series of Anglo-Gallic Coins, p. 2.] This Coin, if it be rightly appropriated, is the only one now known of the Conqueror's Anglo-Norman Mints which comes within the design of this Work. The others which Dr. Ducarel has engraven, Plate I. Nos 1 and 2, and Plate VIII. No 99, appear, from the legend, to have been struck before he attained the title of King. Snelling strangely fancies the first mentioned Penny to have been a Coin of Stephen, with a blundered inscription. View of the Silver Coin, p. 6.

^r It is necessary to observe that in this, and the following List, Snelling's names of Mints and Moneyers are incorporated. As he has placed those of the two Williams together, and has not distinguished the types, I have been unable to separate them.

* It is possible, however, that the Coin was struck at Dieppe. See Cluverii Geographia, p. 70.

BRICSI.	}	Bristol.	CTL.	}	Derby.	
BRICST.			DEORBI.			
BRIGSTOW.			DOF.			
BRIGETS.			DOFRE.			
BRIGETSO.	}	Bridport.*	DORC.		}	Dorchester.*
			DORI.			
			DOV.			
			DOVER.			
			DOVO.			
BRVES.	}	Peterbo- rough.	DVRR. qu. Durham*?	}	Dover.	
BVR, forsan pro			S. I. EDM. St. Edmunds-			
BVRH,			bury.			
or						
BVRGH.						
CA.	}	Canter- bury.	EFER.	}	York.*	
CAN.			EFRWIC.			
CANT.			EIES.			
CANTERBIR.			BLRWIC.			
CANTV.			EO.			
CANTWA.	}		EOF.	}	York.	
CANWA.			EOFE.			
CANWAI.			EOVER.			
CATI.			EOFR.			
CATWAI.			EOFRW.			
CES.	}	Chester.	ERVIC.	}	Exeter.	
CESTI.			EXC.			
CI.			EXCE.			
CICE.			EXCEER.			
CICI.			EXCER.			
CICSI.	}	Chiches- ter.	EXCI.	}		
CITI.			EXEGES.			
CNT.			EXEGR.			
CNTLE.			EXEER.			
CNTRAI.			EXETER.			
CO.	Canterbury?		EALE.	}	St. German's.*	
COL.	}	Colches- ter.*	GERM.			
COLC.			GI.			
COLE.			GIF.			
COLEB.			†GIFI.			
COLESI.						
				}	Ilchester.	

* If Durham be intended, this Coin affords the earliest proof of a Coinage in that City.

GIFFLE.	}	Ilchester.	IEXSEC.	}	Exeter.
GIFL.			IEXSEI.		
GIP.	}	Ipswich.*	IVLIOBINA.	}	Lillebone, or Dieppe?
GIPE.					
GIPI.					
GLE.	}	Glouces- ter.*	LCEWEI.	}	Lincoln.*
GLEWEI.			LCO.		
GLOVCES.			LE.		
GLWECE.			LEG.		
GRAN.	}	Cam- bridge.	LEGRI.	}	Chester.* Leicester.*
GRANT.			LEGWI.		
HA.	}	South- ampton.	LEH.	}	Leicester?
HAMT.			†LEOWI.		
HAMTAS.			LERECE.		
HAMTVNE.			LERECI.		
HARDFRD.			LEWEI.		
HERE.			LEWEIS.		
HEREFOR.	}	Here- ford.*	LICAE.	}	Lewes.*
HERFOR.			LIECE.		
	}	Hertford, or Hereford?	LIEWE.	}	Lichfield?
			LIEWEEI.		
HIFEI.	}	Hastings.	LIN.	}	Lewes?
HIFGT.			LINC.		
HLTING.			LINCO.		
HNTN.			LINCOL.		
HRELI.			LINCOLN.		
HSTI.			LINI.		
HSTING.	}	Hunting- don.*	LOFEC.	}	London.
HVNT.			LONDIN.		
HVNTED.			LOYNC.		
HVNTEN.			LV.		
HVNTI.			LVDEIE.		
HVTD.			LVN.		
IE.	}	Jerby?	LVND.	}	qu. Ludlow?
IERBIRGE.			LVND.		
IEXCE.			LVND.		
IEXEC.			LVND.		
IEXECI.			LVND.		
IEXS.			LVND.		
IEXSE.	}	Exeter.	LVNDD.	}	London.
			LVNDDI.		
			LVNDE.		
			LVNDEI.		
			LVNDEN.		
			LVNDENE.		

LVNDENI.	} London.	OXEN.	} Oxford.
LVNDI.		OXENAE.	
LVNDIE.		OXENE.	
LVNDII.		OXENEF.	
LVNDIN.		OXENEF.	
LVNDNDE.		OXENESO.	
LVNDNE.		OXENOFO.	
LVNDNEI.		OXNEF.	
LVNDNEN.		OXNEF.	
LVNDNI.		OXNEF.	
LVNED.		—————	Pevensey.
LVNI.		—————	Rhuddland.*
LYNDR.		RIC.	
MAINT.		RICOM.	
MALM.	} Malins-	RITVNE.	
MALME.		ROFEI.	} Roches-
MEIGT.		ROFI.	
MELDVNA.	Maldon.*	ROLEC.	
MIERLEVER.		RV.	Rumney?
MIFGT.		RVFEI.	} Roches-
MIFOT.		RVFIC.	
MRLBRGEI.	Marlborough.	†RVMN.	Rumney.
NIEO.		†SALT.	
†NORDWI.	pro Northwi,	SAN.	Sandwich.
	Norwich.	SCED.	St. Edmunds-
			bury, or St. Edward?
			i. e. Shaftesbury.
NORI.		SCEFITI.	
NORT.	Northampton?	SCF.	} Shaftes-
NORTH.	} Norwich.	SCIEF.	
NORTHW.		SCIEFT.	
NORTHWIC.		SCR.	} Shrews-
NORTHWII.		SCROI.	
NORW.		SEIF.	
OCKNRIC.		SHAFTISBIR.	Shaftes-
OEL.			bury.
ORTHRI.		SHIEFE.	
ORTHW.		SHINE.	
ORTHWI.		SIER.	
OX.	} Oxford.		
OXE.			

SINFL.		WALING.	Wallingford.*
SNOTI.		WARRN.	
SNOTIN.	} Nottingham.*	WARRV.	Warham.*
SNOTTIN.		WC.	
SNOTTNGI.		WEALI.	} Wallingford.
STAI.	} Stamford.	WELL.	
STAN.		WER.	
STEFFOR.	} Stafford.	WERE.	Worcester ^t .*
STEFNI.		WERH.	} Warham.
STOT.		WERHA.	
STOTI.		WERHI.	
STOTIC.		WERHN.	
STOTIN.		WERNI.	
STOTINGE.		WERWIC.	Warwick.
SVEL.		WHREC.	
SVTERK.	Southwark.	WI.	
SVTHBI.	Sudbury.*	WIC.	} Worcester.
SVTHEWER.	Southwark.	WICE.	
SVTHI.		WIE.	
SVTHRE.		WIG.	} Worcester.
SYTHRI.		WIGRI.	
TAMI.	Tamworth.	WIHREC.	
TAN.	} Taunton.*	WILTV.	} Wilton.
TANT.		WILTVN.	
TANV.	Tamworth.	WILTVNE.	
TTIN. forsan	} Teignmouth?	WILTVNI.	
pro TEIN.		WIMRE.	
THEFRD.	} Thetford.	WIN.	} Winchester.
THEOT.		WINC.	
THEOTF.		WINE.	
THEOTFO.		WINCEST.	Winchester.
THIOTFO.		WINIRE.	} Winchester?
THIOTFORD.		WINRE.	
THOFRED.		WINRECI.	
THTF.		WITTI.	Witney.
TOTN.	Totness.*	WN.	
WAL.	} Wallingford.*	WNC.	
WALIC.		XECST.	Exeter.

^t More probably Wareham.

His Moneyers were numerous. The following names have been collected :

ÆASMÆR.	BRINTRED.	ÆORWINE.
ÆGELRIC.	BRINTWI.	ÆSDERNE.
ÆGILRIC.	BRINTWINE.	FOLGARD.
ÆELFSED.	BRNFWI.	FORNA.
ÆELFSI.	BRVMMAN.	†GIFEL.
ÆELFSIG.	BRVMMIC.	GIFWARD.
†ÆELFWINE.	BRVNTVI.	GODBRIHT.
ÆELISMER.	BRVNWINE.	GODI.
ÆESBEARN.	BVT.	GODIC.
AFARVE.	CEATI.	GODRIC.
AGELWI.	CEORL.	GODRICI.
AGLFINE.	CIMEL.	GODSBRAND.
ALARVE.	CINRIC.	GODSBRINT.
ALDGAR.	CINTSWINE.	GODWI.
ALEF.	†CIOFWINE.	GODWINE.
ALEIF.	COLFRIN.	GOLDMAN.
ALESMER.	COLSPEGEN, or	GOLDWINE.
ALESTMAER.	COLSWEGEN.	GORNOTH.
ALFIR.	COLSPEGN, or	GVTHRIEN.
ALFRI.	COLSWEGN.	HARGOD.
ALISTMER.	CVIRIC.	HARMEL.
ALLSI.	DIDRIC.	HARMIL.
†ALNOTH.	DINNIC.	HARTHOLF.
ANDERB.	DOR.	HENTHEWVLF.
ANDERBODE.	DRIMAN.	HVSWAL.
ANDERBOIM.	DVNINC.	IECELBRENT.
ANTHOLF.	DVNNIC.	IECELDINE.
ARTHVLF.	DVRCGRIM.	IEDGWORD.
ARTHVR.	DVREGRIM.	IEGELBRHT.
AVDERINE.	EADWEARD.	IEGELRIC.
AVINE.	EADWI.	†IEGELWERD.
†BALDWINE.	EADWINE.	IEGELWINE.
BERITERI.	EADWIRE.	IEGERINE.
BODA.	EARNWI.	IEGLRIC.
BRAND.	EDI.	IELFGWARD.
BRATMER.	EDWI.	IELFGIET.
BRENTRIC.	ELFSI.	IELFRIC.

IELFWINE.	OSWOLD.	SWENTLINC.
IELWORD.	OVTHBEORN.	SWENTLINE.
IESTAN.	OVTHGRIM.	SWEOTINC.
IESTHN.	OVTHREORN.	SWIRTINC.
LEIGTEN.	REFWINE.	SWOTT.
LEIGTIN.	RESWINE.	SWOTTINC.
LEOFRIC.	ROGER.	SWOTTINI.
LEOFWINE.	ROSPFTEL.	THEODORIC.
LEOFWOLD.	RVLEWI.	THEODRED.
LIERIE.	RVLFWSI.	THEOLRIC.
LIFWORD.	RVLFWI.	THIFREID.
LINOTH.	SDROTT.	THIODRED.
LIOFRIC.	SEFRIM.	THORN.
LIOWINC.	SEFVRE.	THORR.
LISWINE.	SEFWARD.	THORSTAN.
LIVINC.	SEFWARTH.	THREORN.
LONSREGEN.	SEFWIROL.	THVREGRIM.
LVFRED.	SEGWARTH.	VLF.
LVFRIC.	SEGWINE.	VLFIEL.
LVFWINE.	SEWINE.	VLFRI.
MANN.	SICOD.	VVINC.
MANNA.	SIDELOC.	WELFWINE.
MAREWIL.	SIDEMAN.	WERWI.
MVRFIN.	SIDEMIN.	WICVXSI.
OD.	SIEWI.	WIEGELWINE.
ODBEVRN.	SIEWINE.	WIGINC.
ODNOTH.	SIFERTH.	WILTVNE.
ODTHNORIN.	SIFFARTH.	WIMER.
ONTHREORN.	SIFRED.	WINE.
OPI.	SIGWINE.	WINERAC.
OPITRERN.	SIWIOE.	WINERED.
ORDWI, forsan	SIWORD.	WINERIC.
pro ORTHWI.	SODRIC.	WINFWINE.
ORGAR.	SPROT.	WINTED.
ORGVR.	STIEWIN.	WINTHORNE.
ORTHWI.	SUETMAN ^u .	WINVRIC.
OSBEARN.	SWEATLINC.	WVCSTAN.
OSBERTH.	SWENLINC.	WVFRED.

^u Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 154.

WVIRERED.	WVLFRIC.	WVLFWINE.
WVLFGMET.	WVLFSWI.	WVLFWINI.
WVLFMAER.	WVLFWARD.	WVLFWNE.
WVLFMER.	WVLFWI.	WVLGAR.
WVLFORD.	WVLFWIC.	WVNNIC.
WVLFRED.		

WILLIAM RUFUS.

1087. On the death of William I., in this year, his son William Rufus succeeded to the throne. He soon dissipated the immense wealth which his Father had accumulated; and from his poverty ^w and the shortness of his reign it is probable that he coined but little Money. I have therefore assigned to him those Coins only which, in imitation of his Great Seal, have a Mullet, or Mullets, on the Obverse. If this appropriation be just, he appears to have coined in many places where his Father had Mints, but not in all, and to have established some others. He employed but few of his Father's Moneyers. From the weight and fineness of his Money it seems that, notwithstanding his necessities, he made no alteration in the Standard.

His Coins bear on the Obverse his name and title, except in one instance, where the legend is

^w About the year, 1095 he raised an immense sum under pretence of lending to his brother Robert Duke of Normandy 10,000 Marcs of Silver, for which he had given his Dukedom as a security. On this occasion the Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses broke in pieces the Gold and Silver ornaments of their Churches to supply the King's necessities. [Bromton, col. 992, and Hoveden, who gives the date of 1096, col. 466.] This circumstance seems to warrant a suspicion that the current Coins were not sufficiently plentiful to answer any particular emergency.

WILLELMVS only, and in another, which is inscribed LVILLEM DVO^x. The Reverses have the Town and Moneyer.

In the following List of Mints I have marked with * those names which appear upon his Father's Coins.

BATHAI.	Bath.*	EOF.	York.
BRIC.	} Bristol.*	GEPI.	Ipswich.*
BRICSI.		GIFL.	} Ilches-
BRIGETSO.		GIFLC.	
BRIGTSO.		GIPI.	Ipswich.
BRV.		GLEI.	} Gloucester.*
CANTI.	} Canter-	GLEWE.	
CANTIEE.		GLF.	
CANTVE.		GRANT.	Cambridge.*
CANTVI.		HAMTVNE.	South-
CANTVLE.			ampton.*
CNT.*		HARFRD.	} Hart-
CNTE.		HIRFRD.	
CNTLE.*		HREF, forsan pro	Hereford.*
CNTNEI.		HRTI.	
COL.	} Colches-	HSTI.	Hastings.*
COLI.		HT.	
CREEK.	Crewkerne?	HVNT.	Huntingdon.*
DOF.	} Dover.*	IEX.	} Exeter.*
DOFR.		IEXE.	
DOR.	} Dorches-	III.	
DORCES.		L.	
DORECST.		LEHR.	Leicester.*
EFR.	York.*	LEOF.	Leominster.
EHI.		LEWI.	Lewes.*
EI.			

^x See Supplement, Part II. Plate II. The former of these affords the only instance of the Roman w on his Coins. On his Great Seal he is styled WILIELMVS : DEI : GRATIA : REX : ANGLO-RVM. — VVILIELMVS : DEI : GRATIA : DVX : NORMANORVM.

[Sandford and Speed.]

The Antiq. Society Minutes Feb. 22 1736⁹ speak of a very fair coin of William Rufus "with this legend

PILLELM : REX.

Rev. COLNDI . ON . LVNDE .

LIC, forsan pro		SACTF.	
LICOLEN.	} Lincoln.*	SAN.	} Sand- wich.*
See Mints		SAND.	
of Henry I.		SC. EA.	
LIEC.			St. Edmunds- bury.
LIEWEN.	Lewes ?	SCRO.	Shrewsbury.*
LIN.		SF.	
LINC.	} Lincoln.	SHIEFI.	Shaftesbury ?*
LINCLN.		SINTSTFNI.	
LINCO.		SNT.	Nottingham?*
LINCOLI.		ST.	
LIND.		STNF.	Stamford.*
LVN.	} London.	SV.	
LVND.		SVD.	Sudbury.*
LVNDE.		SVTH.	} South- wark.*
LVNDEI.		SVTHEVR.	
LVNE.*		SVTHEWI.	
NOR.	} Nor- wich.*	SVTHEWR.	
NORTHWI.		TANV.	} Tam- worth.*
ODE.		TANW.	
ONWI.		THETF.	} Thet- ford.*
OTHEI.		THTFR.	
OTHRE.		THTFRD.	
OTHRÍ.		WAL.	} Walling- ford.*
OXE.	} Oxford.*	WALICE.	
OXNE.		WALIG.	
OXNEI.		WERH.	Warham.*
OXSNEI.		WEWH.	
OXSNII.		WILTVNEN.	Wilton.*
ROFF.	} Roches- ter.*	WIN.	} Winches- ter*.
ROFI.		WINC.	
RVM.	} Rumney.*	WINCE.	
RVME.		WINCESI.	
RVMI.		WLTVNE.	Wilton.

The names of his Moneyers will be found to differ considerably from those which appear upon the Pennies of the Conqueror. Those with an Asterisk occur under both Monarchs.

ALDWINE.	GODWN.	ORDVI.
ALFRAD.	GOLDWINE.*	ORDWI.
ALFRED.	GOWI.	OSWOLD.*
ALFRIED.	HELDRED.	OTER.
ALTHVROLF.	HETHEWI.	SDROT.*
BRAND.*	HVSWAL.*	SEWI.
BRATMIER.	IECIDRD.	SEWIAL.
BRVNIC.	IEDGWORD.*	SIGHERITH.
BRVNIE.	IEGLWINE.*	SIGONEF.
CEOLI.	IELDRIND.	SIWISEN.
CEOTI.	IELFRIC.*	SIWORD.*
CINRIC.*	IELFWIC.	SPROT.*
DILMVN.	IELFWINE.*	STICWIN.
EADWI.*	IELGTAN.	SWETMAN.
EADWINE.*	IELMIER.	SWIGEN.
EDRILI.	IELMIRE.	SWRTIC.
EDWI.*	IELNOTH.	VLFEIL.
EDWOLD.	IELRMIC.	VLNOTH.
GATHRAD.	ITHSTAN.	WELWINE.
GEGLWINE.	LEOFWINE.*	WINEWI.
GLITHRIND.	LIFIC.	WINTRIC.
GODRAD.	LIFWINE.	WLLEM.
GODRED.	LIOFRED.	WVLDWINE.
GODRIC.*	LVOFWINE.	WVLFWINE.*
GODWA:	MAN.*	WVLGAR.*
GODWINE.*	MVNWINE.	WVLROD.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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Printed by Nichols, Son, and Bentley,
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London.

Books printed for
LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAJOR, and JONES. ✓✓

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The following Anglo Saxon Coins unknown to Mr. Anding are preserved in the British Museum

Aethelred II.

Colchester

1. EDELRED. REX. ANGL^o. The Kings head to the left, with a sceptre.

BERHTLN. M^o. EOL. An open cross, in the angles of which are the letters E. R. V. X.

Wellingborough.

2. EDELRED. REX. ANGLOX. The Kings head, as before.

ELFRIC. M^o. PELIG. The same type, as before.

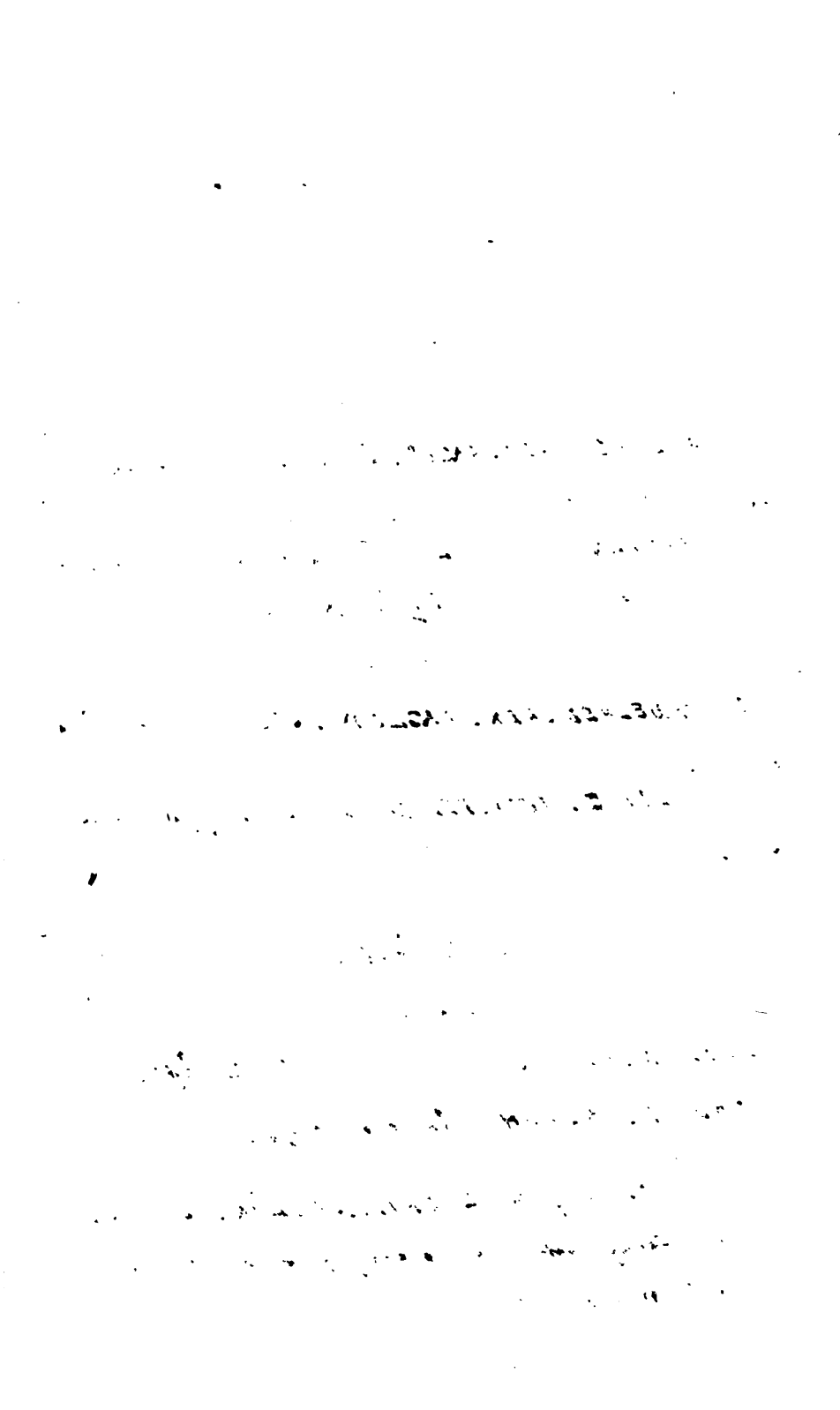
Edward The Confessor.

London.

EDPERD. REX. The Kings head to the left.

EDDRIE. ON. LAN^{*}. An open cross.

*Probably for GODRIE. ON. LVN. The Coin is a Penny, not a Halfpenny; its weight is $12 \frac{9}{10}$ grains.



Carta quā Othoni juveni misterium

patris sui conceditur.

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A. D. —
An. — Hen. I.

Cart. Antiq.
in Turr. Lond.
Y. 17.

HENRICUS, Rex Angliæ, Mauricio Londinensi episcopo, & Hugoni de Bocland, & omnibus baronibus suis & fidelibus, Francis & Anglis, de Londoniâ, salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse Othoni juveni misterium patris sui; scilicet, misterium cuneorum & omnia alia misteria sua, & omnes terras suas, infra burgum et extra, & nominatim Lislestona; & precipio ut eas ita benè & honorificè teneat

cum soca, & saca, & toll, & team, & infanguemtephf, cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus suis, sicut eas pater ejus melius tenuit & habuit, tempore patris & fratris mei Regis Willielmi.

Test. Roberto, comite de Mellend, &
Willielmo de Warena, &
Willielmo de Albineio.

Apud Arundel.

*Pat. 47 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 15. Exemplificatio
charta facta per Henr. II. Othoni juveni in
feodo de misterio cuneorum ac de omnibus
aliis misteris suis infra burgum et extra
et nominatim Lelastona cum soc sac. &c. ad
requirit. Willielmi de Latymer militis cui
quidem Willielmus Rex confirmavit in feodo
officium sculptura et fabrica cuneorum Re-
gis in Turr. London. et civitate Cantuar.
perquisit. de Matilda qua fuit uxor Jo-
hannis Botetourte tenend. de Rege a capite.*





DEC 31 1940

